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**Understanding Sport as the Expansion of Capabilities:
The Homeless World Cup and Street Soccer (Scotland)**

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Abstract

The use of sport to tackle a variety of social challenges, a strategy referred to as Sport for Development and Peace (SDP), is on the rise. Despite the recent attention given to the social value of sport to society few studies have investigated the relationship between sport, homelessness and poverty. This investigation explores such a relationship and in doing so helps to address a gap in existing sport in society research. In addressing such a gap this exploration takes its lead from Amartya Sen's capability approach. Informed theoretically and methodologically by the capability approach this research provides an original thesis that considers the ways in which sport contributes to the expansion of the human capabilities of a select number of homeless street soccer players.

The purpose of this thesis is to provide an original piece of research that advances our knowledge of sport in society and more specifically sport, homelessness and poverty. It uses a qualitative, collective case study design in which the participants of two social enterprises, which use street soccer to help overcome homelessness and its associated effects, were interviewed in order to understand the specific ways in which street soccer has helped to develop capabilities in the sense that Sen used this term.

During the research process the notion of pathways with different entry and exit points emerged and became central to this work. This thesis has built on this idea through its use of two street soccer organisations: The Homeless World Cup and Street Soccer (Scotland), each of which operates at a different stage of the homeless pathways. By understanding sport as capabilities this research differentiates stages in the development of capabilities and identifies specific capabilities built through sport as separate to those built through the use of street soccer in either a *sport plus* and *plus sport* sense.

With the increasing use of sport in development initiatives across the globe, it is both timely and necessary to consider new ways of understanding its social benefits. In the capability approach there exists the potential not only to better understand the ways in which sport interacts with and shapes individuals, communities and societies but also to better inform the use of sport for the purposes of development in the future.

This thesis proposes that understanding sport as the development of capabilities is useful not least because of the universality of the new approach to considering and appreciating the social benefits gained in and through sport but also to alert sociologists and other disciplines to the value of Amartya Sen's capability approach.

Key Words; Capabilities, Sport, Poverty, Homelessness, Street Soccer, Development

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Table of Contents

	Page
Declaration.....	i
Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
List of Tables	x
List of Acronyms	xi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Sport, Culture and Society: Levels of Analysis and Entry Point.....	3
1.2.1 Level 1: Epistemology and a Crisis of Framing	4
1.2.2 Level 2: Theory, Evidence and Problematic	5
1.2.3 Level 3: Social Value of Sport.....	8
1.2.4 Level 4: International Development and the Question: Sport Plus or Plus Sport?	9
1.2.5 Level 5: Sport and Poverty	12
1.2.6 Level 6: Sport and Social Change.....	14
1.2.7 Level 7: Sport, Development and Capability.....	16
1.3 Framing the Problem and a Way Forward	19
1.4 Research Questions	21
1.5 Organisation of this Thesis	22
1.6 Conclusion	23
Chapter 2: Research Design.....	24
2.1 Introduction.....	24
2.2 A Capability Approach to Sports Research	25
2.3 Research Procedures	27
2.3.1 A Case Study Methodology	27
2.3.2 Selecting the Case Studies	29
2.3.3 Further Methodological Considerations	32
2.3.4 Formulating the Interview Schedules	33

2.3.5 Ethical Approval	39
2.3.6 Summary of Fieldwork	41
2.3.6.1 HWC Case Study: August 2011.....	41
2.3.6.1.1 Data Collection: Interviews.....	41
2.3.6.1.2 Data Management	43
2.3.6.2 Street Soccer Scotland Case Study: March-April 2014	44
2.3.6.2.1 Data Collection: Interviews.....	45
2.3.6.2.2 Data Management	45
2.3.7 Analysis and Discussion	45
2.4 Conclusion	47
Chapter 3: Social Aspects of Sport.....	49
3.1 Introduction	49
3.2 The Wider Social Benefits of Sport	50
3.3 Sport, Social Capital and Social Inclusion.....	54
3.4 Sport for Development.....	62
3.5 Sport as the Expansion of Capabilities.....	75
3.6 Conclusion	79
Chapter 4: Poverty, Capability and Sport.....	82
4.1 Introduction	82
4.2 Perspectives on Poverty	82
4.2.1 Causes and Solutions	85
4.2.2 Definitions and Measurements.....	89
4.2.3 Poverty, Exclusion, Deprivation and Inequality	92
4.2.4 Poverty as a Violation of Human Rights	94
4.3 Poverty and Capability: Poverty as a Multi-dimensional Phenomenon.....	97

4.3.1 Amartya Sen's Capability Approach	100
4.4 Poverty and Sport.....	103
4.4.1 Sport for Development.....	105
4.4.2 Sport as a Profession: The High Performance Sports System	110
4.4.2.1 Sport as Resources of Hope	111
4.4.2.2 Sport as an Escape	114
4.4.2.3 Sport as an Economic Tool	119
4.5 Capability, Poverty and Sport	124
4.5.1 Individualism	127
4.5.2 Breadth	128
4.5.3 Opportunity	129
4.6 Conclusion	130
Chapter 5: Homelessness.....	131
5.1 Introduction.....	131
5.2 Perspectives on Homelessness	131
5.2.1 Definitions of Homelessness.....	132
5.2.2 Causes of Homelessness	134
5.2.3 Ameliorative Action and Lasting Solutions to Homelessness	140
5.3 Pathways into and out of Homelessness	144
5.4 Homelessness and Sport	147
5.5 Conclusion	151
Chapter 6: HWC and SSSS: Context, Origins and Growth	152
6.1 Introduction.....	152
6.1.1 What is Street Soccer?	152
6.1.2 An Introduction to the HWC and SSS	153
6.2 HWC: Origins and Growth	155
6.3 From the HWC to SSS: A Four Day Event to 365 day Social Enterprise	157
6.4 SSS Origins and Growth.....	161

6.5 HWC and SSS: Partnerships and Connections	164
6.6 HWC and SSS: SDP in Action	167
6.7 Growth and Sustainability: Selling It or Selling Out? A Capabilities Conundrum.....	169
6.8 Player Eligibility	173
6.9 Winning versus Inclusion.....	177
6.10 Conclusion	181
Chapter 7: HWC and SSS: The Expansion of Capabilities	183
7.1 Introduction	183
7.2 Impact.....	183
7.2.1 Impact of the HWC	183
7.2.2 Impact of SSS.....	189
7.2.3 Impact as Capability.....	191
7.3 Valuable Lives	192
7.3.1 HWC Players.....	193
7.3.1.1 Soccer itself as the Raison d'être	193
7.3.1.2 Social Networks: Friends and Family	194
7.3.1.3 Personal Fitness, Human Feelings and Pathways	196
7.3.2 HWC: Former Players	199
7.3.3 SSS Players	201
7.3.3.1 Social Connections.....	201
7.3.3.2 Self Improvement.....	202
7.3.3.3 Working	202
7.3.3.4 Discussion of Findings of Valuable Lives.....	203
7.4 The Expansion of Capabilities	204
7.4.1 Evidence of Expansion of Capabilities in players at HWC, 2011	204
7.4.1.1 Enhancing Psychological Health and Basic Mental Skills which help in Everyday Life.....	205
7.4.1.2 Building Confidence	208

7.4.1.3 Developing Inter-personal Skills	209
7.4.1.4 Improving Self-Esteem	209
7.4.1.5 Developing a Sense of Perspective and Gratefulness	210
7.4.1.6 Uncovering Leadership Potential.....	211
7.4.2 Evidence of Expansion of Capabilities in SSS Players, 2014	214
7.4.2.1 Developing Confidence	215
7.4.2.2 Developing Emotional Control	215
7.4.2.3 Developing Physical Health.....	216
7.4.2.4 Emergence of Leadership Capabilities	216
7.5 Evidence of a Capability Pathway: From SSS to the HWC	217
7.5.1 Personal Pathways: Stories of Expanding Capabilities	219
7.6 Expanding Capabilities in a Broader Audience	227
7.7 The Capabilities of Women	230
7.7.1 Types of Capability	231
7.7.2 Contribution of HWC to Expansion of Women's Capabilities	232
7.8 Capability and Opportunity at the HWC and SSS	238
7.9 Conclusion	245
Chapter 8: The Expansion of Capabilities in Sport as Freedom.....	248
8.1 Introduction.....	248
8.2 Street Soccer: A Means and an End for Homeless Participants	248
8.2.1 A Means and an End in a Utilitarian Sense	249
8.2.2 A Means and an End in an Inclusionary Sense.....	250
8.2.3 A Means and an End in an Economic Sense.....	251
8.2.4 A Means and an End in a Feminist Sense.....	252
8.2.5 A Means and an End in an Educational Sense.....	253
8.2.6 A Means and an End in a Health Sense	255
8.3 Levels of Capability: A Capability Pathway	257
8.4 Agency and Choice	258
8.4.1 Educational Choices.....	259

8.4.2 Sporting Choice.....	261
8.4.3 Broader Support Services	263
8.4.4 Enterprise Choices	264
8.5 Redefining Sport as the Expansion of Capabilities.....	265
8.6 Conclusion	272
Chapter 9: Conclusions	276
9.1 Research Question 1: To what extent can sport contribute to the expansion of capabilities?.....	277
9.2 Research Question 2: What is homelessness and can sport contribute to coping with the problems of homelessness?	279
9.3 Research Question 3: In what ways does sport help to ameliorate poverty and homelessness?	284
9.4 Sport, Capability and Development as Freedom	287
9.5 Implications of this Study	289
9.6 Future Research Directions	291
9.7 Conclusion	292
Bibliography	294
Newspaper and Media Sources.....	294
Reports, Conferences and Legislative Sources.....	297
Web Sources.....	302
Books and Articles.....	307
Appendices	334
Appendix 1: Guiding Questions for Homeless World Cup Research.....	334
Appendix 2: Guiding Questions for Street Soccer Scotland Research	337
Appendix 3: Example of Enterprise on sale at HWC, 2011	338
Appendix 4: Interview Information Statement and Consent Form.....	339
Appendix 5: 2011 HWC Player Eligibility	340
Appendix 6: List of Interviews	341

List of Tables

Table 1. Street Soccer as the Expansion of Capabilities.....	272
Table 2. Street Soccer and Homelessness.....	283

List of Acronyms

ADP AL	Active Disabled People Albania
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CA	Capability Approach
CES	Conference of European Statisticians
CNN	Central News Network
CRJ	The Collectif Remise en Jeu
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CS4L	Canadian Sport for Life
CWG	Commonwealth Games
DFID	Department of International Development
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
ECINEQ	Society for the Study of Economic Inequality
ENGSO	European Non-Governmental Sports Organisation
EU	European Union
FC	Football Club
FIFA	International Federation of Association Football
FOX	FOX broadcasting television network
GB	Great Britain
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GN	Global North
GS	Global South
HDR	Human Development Report
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HWC	Homeless World Cup
IFNA	International Federation of Netball Associations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSP	International Network of Street Newspapers

IOC	International Olympic Committee
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JRF	Joseph Rowantree Foundation
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MEH	Multiple Exclusion Homelessness
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
MPP	Mass Participation Programmes
MYSA	Mathare Youth Sports Association
NBG	National Governing Body
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NOC	National Olympic Committee
NY	New York
OG	Olympic Games
PAT	Policy Action Team
PLP	Poverty Leadership Panel
PSE	Poverty and Social Exclusion
SAMH	Scottish Association for Mental Health
SAP	Structural Adjustment Plan
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SDP	Sport for Development and Peace
SDPIWG	Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group
SSE	School of Sporting Excellence
SSS	Street Soccer (Scotland)
SUV	Sports Utility Vehicle
TB	Tubercle Bacillus (Tuberculosis)
UAM	United Against Malaria
UK	United Kingdom
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
UN	United Nations

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDIP	United Nations Department of International Protection
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UN HDR	United Nations Human Development Report
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
UTS SA	United Through Sport South Africa
VANOC	Vancouver Organising Committee for the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games
VSSL	Vancouver Street Soccer League
WHO	World Health Organisation

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this introduction to *understanding sport as the expansion of capabilities* is fourfold: (i) to introduce and situate the study of sport within a broader social understanding of sport while also linking such an understanding to a capabilities approach, (ii) to introduce key levels of analysis that provide useful entry and exit points to and from the problematic that is presented, (iii) to highlight key research questions that drive this study, and finally (iv) to outline the organisation of this thesis before making a few final introductory remarks. The purpose of the thesis is to provide an original and substantive piece of research that advances our knowledge about sport in society. The investigation aims to make a modest yet original contribution to sports research as well as that on homelessness and poverty. It is the contention of this thesis that while the latter is a large body of research by contrast the former has largely been ignored. This thesis contributes in part to the filling of this lacuna by providing an understanding of sport, homelessness and poverty that is both substantive and informed by the capability approach associated with the work of Amartya Sen.

A genuine social understanding of sport remains crucial to an understanding of the world in which we live. Research into the study of sport continues to produce a body of knowledge that adds to what we know about society (Blackshaw 2013; Coakley and Pike, 2009; Coalter, 2007; Maguire, 2014). We inhabit a world in which sport is an international phenomenon: it is important to politicians and world leaders to be associated with sporting personalities; it contributes to the economy; it is part of the social and cultural fabric of different localities, regions and nations and it is regularly

associated with social issues and problems such as health, crime, violence, social division, labour migration, and economic and social regeneration. Generation after generation of sociologists, critical thinkers, historians, political scientists and others have rightly reminded us that sport both contributes to and is constitutive of the world(s) in which we live (Dunning and Sheard, 1979; Kidd, 1996; Maguire, 1999; Hargreaves, 2000; Spaaij, 2011; Dine, 2012; Hill, 2002; Jarvie and Thornton, 2012; Coalter, 2013; Harvey et al, 2014).

We also live in a world in which rich and poor experience sport in different ways. Whether one decides to frame such questions in terms of problematic x or y, the question of poverty and how to ameliorate it remains as much a question for the present as it has in the past. The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which ranged from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by a target date of 2015, have formed a unilaterally agreed blueprint. They have galvanized unprecedented efforts to meet the needs of the world's poorest and yet as writers like Collier (2007) remind us, the problem of the bottom billion of the world's population requires a new philosophy of compassion and action. The capability approach that informs this thesis, it is argued, is one such approach.

Implicit within the thesis presented here is that sport can make a contribution to tackling the issue of poverty in the 21st Century. Social scientists have studied a huge diversity of subjects and so whilst notions of poverty, homelessness and capability are not new, they are often suppressed in the academic literature about sport in society. Amartya Sen's capability approach to social justice and poverty may have helped to inform UN millennium goals as well as other policy expressions but very few studies focusing upon sport in society have been guided by Sen's thinking.

While it is not a central argument within the study at hand it is worth noting that Holmwood (2013) has recently called upon sociologists interested in social inequality and injustices to engage more with the work of Sen. This study rises to such an engagement by placing the 1998 Nobel Prize winner at the heart of the narrative that informs and permeates this work. By this I mean that the notion of capability and the work of Sen informs the overall synthesis rather than being presented in the orthodox way of having a distinct chapter focusing solely on his capability approach.

Raising awareness about social issues involving sport or addressing social problems that arise out of and between different sporting worlds may occur at different levels. Any researcher looking to enter the discussion about sport in society or make a small contribution to filling gaps in our knowledge about sport in society faces a daunting task about where to enter and exit such a body of knowledge. Rather than become involved in an extensive review of a variety of frameworks and approaches to sport in society I opted to adopt Jarvie (2006) and Jarvie and Thornton's (2012) method for entering such a body of work by highlighting, even prioritising, different levels of analysis that are specifically important to the study at hand. The levels are not exhaustive but illustrative of different ways of organising and prioritising knowledge about sport in society.

1.2 Sport, Capability and Society: Levels of Analysis and Entry Point

The different levels of analysis that make up the body of knowledge that is the study of sport in society remains difficult not simply because it is continually changing but because to provide such a comprehensive list would be disproportionate to the main task at the heart of this thesis. It is not necessary to provide a detailed account of

knowledge of, for example, the history or sociology of sport, but it is necessary to outline the thinking and epistemological approach taken.

Sociologists such as Jarvie and theoretically influenced historians such as Hill both adopt a 'levels of analysis approach' to introduce their own studies. In his analysis of *Sport, Leisure and Culture in Twentieth Century Britain*, Hill (2002:179) refers to historical categories of analysis as being quantitative, economic, theoretical, semiotic, heroic, whiggish, reverential and/or chronological. Jarvie (2006) and Jarvie and Thornton (2012:7) on the other hand talk of epistemology and new frameworks informing sport and culture, the nation, global sport, neighbourhood and community sport, policy intervention, sport or sporting events, historical, social divisions and inequality, and international development and sports aid as some of the key levels of analysis as bodies of research that inform our knowledge of sport in society. The levels I will now introduce are not exhaustive but they are strategic and illustrative of key bodies of knowledge that are germane to this thesis.

1.2.1 Level 1: Epistemology and a Crisis of Framing

In many respects, today's crisis of framing a debate about society resembles other ways of considering what Horton and Gregory (2009) call the long view of poverty or what the Fraser Institute (2013) refers to as the crisis of framing. Frameworks that have to consider a broader context which sees livelihoods of billions of people being destroyed, fraying families, weakening communities, failures in attempts to narrow the gap between rich and poor and whether the world can afford a compassionate society that helps with the development of human capabilities. The different paradigms, perspectives, eclectic and inter-disciplinary approaches to the study of sport in society are perhaps not as popular as they were. Reasons for this are many:

reflections upon the value of paradigmatic rivalry, changing attitudes towards the value of theory and different positions between disciplines on the balance between theory and evidence.

Epistemology has often been described as the study of how we claim to know something and usually involves an understanding of theories of knowledge. Ontology on the other hand refers to the study of what is or the nature of being. The framing of problematics are rarely neutral or value free and while it is not necessary where all the different studies of sport in society come from, it is necessary to understand where the questions at the heart of this thesis originate and how they are framed. At one level researchers looking to push back the boundaries of what we know about sport in society may not face a crisis of framing but they do have to understand the nature of the problematic that they are attempting to construct or work with.

1.2.2 Level 2: Theory, Evidence and Problematic

Those working with theory have much freedom to think across and between a broad range of international social theory and are not necessarily constrained by place or school of thought. Different researchers reflect different viewpoints and approaches to the study of sport in society that is informed or framed by at best a set of values or body of theory and at worst a set of research questions that they want to ask about sport, and perhaps the reality is somewhere in between. The danger of such an approach is that it can force events or evidence into constraining pigeonholes that try to impose a universal meaning or way of seeing things in what is a diverse field of activity. To impose order through theory can sometimes result in distortion, while producing evidence without direction can sometimes result in too much description or lack of order. However there is a strong sense in this thesis that strives for some

balance to the interplay between grand narrative and evidence that neither imposes a comprehensive universal approach to theory nor allows for the marshalling of evidence without some sort of guidance or arranging set of concepts.

Whereas the study of sport in society has historically been dominated by a diverse range of paradigms or frameworks including those from capitalism to Confucianism; functionalism to feminism; symbolic interactionism to semiotic analysis; Marxism to modernity; post-colonialism to process-sociology, it has also been dominated by a range of organising themes such as globalisation, identity, power, development and freedom and ways of interpreting such concepts. Theories and/or concepts try to construct knowledge or ways of seeing the world and the place of sport in it, and as such, theoretical thinking about sport is not a process divorced from everyday life or sport itself.

The value of theory to the study of sport in society is recognised by Jarvie (2006:19) in the following terms: (i) asking theoretical and or conceptually informed questions helps to avoid generalisation, (ii) is a necessary or at least helpful approach to the organisation of research, (iii) helps with the stimulation of new ideas and further areas of study, (iv) it can help with the destroying of certain cherished myths such as the “good society“ or the inevitable collapse of capitalism and, (v) it helps with the illumination of the process of decision making or why some decisions take the format that they do and why others are rejected. Theoretical thinking can be rigorous and involve the systematic use of certain tools to make sense of or solve a problem. According to social theorists such as Elliott (2009:347) one of the new tasks consists of examining the political conditions under which the planet is shared and the need to highlight problems of violence, disease, malnutrition and rising levels of poverty. Today’s social co-ordinates are being re-written around the politics of survival,

sharing, community, inequalities of capacity as well as capability and the resources of hope that sport can potentially bring or mobilise such resources to help with such contemporary problems. This is not a neutral or atheoretical position but it is one that is shared in this thesis and will be developed and expanded upon throughout.

The value of theory or grand narratives in the study of sport must be recognised. Yet while the grand narrative or meta narrative may not have ended it may be suggested that it is not as forceful as it once was. Purely theoretical accounts of the study of sport in society remain as unsatisfactory as empirical accounts that exude findings without any theoretical grounding or explanation. It might be useful to introduce from Jarvie and Thornton (2012) the notion of the term problematic at this point. Each of the approaches outlined below and all other forms of analysis are problematic, not in the sense that they are wrong or unethical, but that at various levels of sophistication they have provided the basis for the organisation of a field of knowledge or research position about sport.

Problematics are ways of organising theory and/or knowledge in particular ways and as such are not necessarily neutral because a hierarchy of questions and indeed knowledge is invariably presented. In this sense this thesis speaks of a problematic as a definite structuring of knowledge about sport which organises a particular research enquiry into making certain kinds of questions about sport possible or permissible, and making other questions suppressed or marginalised. In other words, the problematic in which one chooses to operate as a researcher will in part determine the sorts of questions that are asked about sport. At the same time it could also highlight what questions are not being asked and why. The capability approach and the concept of development are priorities in this thesis. Adopting this particular problematic adds to the originality of this thesis in terms of both its approach and

overall synthesis of research. That is to say the narrative prioritises the notion of capabilities while recognising that it may not be the only way to frame a discussion about sport, poverty and homelessness.

1.2.3 Level 3: Social Value of Sport

Sport can, and frequently does, reflect the society in which it operates (Jarvie, 2007). It can also contribute to positive change within societies in a number of ways, with contemporary research reporting its role and influence within a myriad of sociological areas, including social justice (Kaufman and Wolff, 2010; Steinfeldt et al, 2012), social exclusion (Kelly, 2011; Magee and Jeanes, 2013), global social movements (Davis-Delano and Crosset, 2008; Obadare, 2014), gender and racial issues (Mansfield, 2008; Azzarito and Harrison, 2008; Shor and Yonay, 2011), as well as inequality (Hastings, Zahran and Cable, 2006; Love and Kelly, 2011), poverty (Akindola, 2009; Borchard, 2010) and homelessness (Sherry, 2010; Sherry et al, 2011). Indeed, sport is increasingly being thought of as a tool or platform through which broader social objectives can be achieved. Evidence of this can be seen in many social fields including, but not limited to: positively impacting on social and economic regeneration (Kasimati, 2003; Chaplin, 2004; Blake, 2005), community development (Coalter, Allison and Taylor, 2000; Jarvie, 2003; Delaney and Keaney, 2005; Lawson, 2005), crime reduction and rehabilitation and youth delinquency (Witt and Crompton, 1996; Coalter, Allison and Taylor, 2000; Taylor et al., 2000; West and Crompton, 2001; Bailey, 2005; Coakley, 2011); and as an approach to social learning, enculturation and the development of identity (Light, 2010).

Thus sport in society operates on many levels; from the individual where it helps learning, growth and change, through developing cohesive social units and groups, to

symbolising systemic change within societies and as a vehicle of wider societal change itself (Jarvie, 2007). In these levels of operation, the social value of sport transcends existing social ‘layers’ and structures. It is not only contextually but also temporally influenced in that sport as a social institution usually reflects the predominant values and standards of the majority, and there exists evidence in some sports of a form of social subculture emerging which provides a particular meaning, identity and purpose to the participants (Beal, 1995).

Although there is inherent difficulty in attributing benefits solely to sport (Coalter, 2007), there is a general acceptance and broad appreciation that sport is of social value to society (Long et al, 2002; Kidd, 2008). A body of literature drawing on this was presented by Coalter (2007) in *A Wider Social Role for Sport: Whose Keeping the Score?* In this, Coalter presented the notion of a *sports plus* approach to the use of sport for broader social purposes whereby he suggested that if sport is to be an effective form of social intervention, other things such as education, health and/or sustainable funding have to be linked to it and thus the intervention is not sport per se but ‘sport plus’. This notion is commented upon further in the context of international development.

This thesis will add to this body of knowledge by examining the social contribution sport makes to two groups of poor, excluded homeless people participating in street soccer programs designed with this notion of sport plus in mind. At this point it is worth briefly discussing further notions of sport and sport plus and the distinction between the two categories.

1.2.4 Level 4: International Development and the Question: Sport Plus or Plus Sport?

Due to the growth in recognition of its purported social, economic, educational and health benefits, sport is increasingly being used as a tool to achieve International development goals, with hundreds of Non-Governmental Organisation's (NGO's) implementing sport for development and international aid projects (Sport and Development, 2011). There also exists increasing evidence of its use within conflict resolution (Armstrong and Giulianotti, 2004; Gasser and Levinson, 2004; Sugden, 2006). As a result, a movement known as Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) has grown rapidly since the millennium, with SDP agencies employing sport as an interventionist tool to promote peace, reconciliation and development (Giulianotti, 2011). By 2011, the level of interest was such that a new academic journal focussed solely on this field was launched, namely: *The Journal of Sport for Development*.

The role of sport is increasingly recognised at all levels and was prominent within the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goal's (MGD's) (Darnell, 2012) as well as their successor: the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's), which are central to the UN's new global strategy to tackle poverty, inequality and climate change: *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (UN, 2015). The inclusion sport in these strategies is based on its ability to contribute to the holistic approaches utilised to achieve these goals (UN, 2012) where it contributes to projects focussed on improving health and education, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating diseases, promoting equality, empowering women and environmental sustainability (UN, 2012) and is recognised as an important enabler of sustainable development (UN, 2015).

Within this vastly expanding area of research it is possible to distinguish two different approaches to sport and development: a *dominant vision*, in which sport essentially reproduces established social relations, and an *interventionist approach*,

in which sport is intended to contribute to more fundamental change and transformation (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011). This raises the need for critical analysis within the context of increasing globalisation, bringing to the fore questions related to driving development whilst preserving local values and cultures, and moral imperatives for NGO's and other SDP practitioners to do so. Darnell (2012) proposes that the SDP movement is underpinned by the notion of global citizenship and the use of sport within SDP projects is driven not by the popularity of sport itself, but by the ways in which global citizenship is interpreted and acted upon by the stakeholders. In doing so, Darnell implies the need for approaches to avoid the dominant - interventionist polemic and strive as an alternative to provide culturally appropriate transformation and development. To this vision, global citizenship leads a humanistic version of globalisation rather than a neo liberal, capitalist version that has hitherto dominated. Within such a vision of globalisation both human potential and broader society exist harmoniously without the need to reduce either individual, agency or structure or place value of one as greater than the other.

Within the current approaches to SDP, sport plays a variety of roles in a variety of settings, including school based programmes to motivate children to attend school or community based initiatives which provide alternatives to the school system. Building upon earlier comments, these can be broadly categorised as either plus sport or sport plus (Coalter, 2007). Plus sport organisations are primarily social development organisations dealing with issues such as conflict resolution, homelessness and children at risk and are 'plus sport' in the sense that sport is used as part of the programme to reach social goals, or participation in sport is encouraged as part of the project. These differ from sport plus organisations, which use sport as their core activity, adapting it in various ways to achieve certain development

objectives, such as HIV and AIDS education or female empowerment. Sport plus organisations essentially use sport to attract those at risk into the activity, to which they then attach the social, health or educational message. This may mean adapting the sport itself to embed the broader social objectives such as in the case of Bowling Out AIDS (Higgs, 2013) or having educational messages interwoven into the sport experience, where it becomes part of a pre or post game ritual, transferring knowledge almost as a process of sporting osmosis. This notion of sport plus or plus sport is mentioned here as a further level of analysis which has become popular in framing discussions about sport for development, implicit within which has been the question of poverty.

1.2.5 Level 5: Sport and Poverty

Historically sport has been recorded as offering a route out of poverty (Jarvie, 2006; Pitsiladis et al, 2007) and promoted for its particular skill-set which enables it to contribute in a variety of ways, including: building social capital and active citizenship (Burnett, 2006); as a resource of hope (Jarvie, 2007; Jarvie, 2008), as an escape (Gillon, 2005: 10), as a pathway to employment (Kobayashi, Nicholson and Hoye, 2011) and as tool for development and aid to those most in need (Levermore, 2008).

Poverty is a phenomenon without boundaries, touching both the developed North and the developing South, and impacting on various levels and in different ways upon many within our global society. Discussions to date have tended to examine poverty as: (i) a behaviour, (ii) not existing but instead suggesting that some people are unequal, (iii) both absolute and relative, (iv) social exclusion as a symptom, (v) about how society distributes its wealth, (vi) both economic and social in nature, and (vii)

having an income below an arbitrary line (Jarvie, 2006). Thus, the ways in which it has traditionally been understood are varied. More recently it has been suggested that it may at least in part be understood through associational life (Dacombe, 2013) and there is a growing consensus that opportunity is closely involved within the contemporary poverty debate (Kumar, 2010; Tach, 2012).

Relatively little has been done to consider the role and place of sport, and in particular whether the development of capabilities through sport can impact upon the amelioration of poverty. There is a gap in the corpus of knowledge about the ways in which sport can contribute not just as a way out, but as a way to ameliorate the impact of how poverty is felt and ultimately in the ways it may contribute to the utopia of ending poverty itself.

Indeed, it is difficult for sport to play any role since poverty continues to exclude children from participation in recreation activities, including sport (Donnelly, 2000). In doing so, it makes it difficult for sport to play any role within poverty solutions without its conscious inclusion within the poverty agenda. Whilst modern approaches to domestic and international policy have included sport as one of the approaches, they have tended to promote it through the social inclusion/exclusion agenda rather than directly associated with poverty. Although there is no doubt that how we think about poverty and sport needs to be considered within the context of social exclusion, as well as inequality and deprivation, it must also be recognised that each is a distinct concept warranting distinct debate. Thus, simply viewing the role of sport as limited to the social inclusion agenda is inadequate. Poverty is more than simply exclusion or inequality, but a matter of multidimensional deprivation (Lasso de la Vega, 2009), including deprivation from sporting opportunity. Therefore the first goal for the academic and political community in thinking about sport in poverty

may be to secure access and opportunity for everyone to be involved in a sport of their choice. This would necessitate the higher achievement of embedding sporting activities and opportunities throughout the fabric of everyday life in such a way as to allow the unique qualities of sport to be a vehicle to help in the alleviation of poverty within society rather than simply one that enables individuals to temporarily escape it. Poverty is a complex phenomenon which demands multifaceted and holistic solutions and it is the belief within this research that sport has an important role to play in these solutions and in bringing about social change.

1.2.6 Level 6: Sport and Social Change

One of the central problems highlighted by some of the sport in society literature has been to attempt to explain social change. At one level this might involve explaining waves of change brought about by industrialisation, the expansion of democracy and human rights, population growth and decline, whilst at another level this might involve questions of whether sport in society has gone through evolutionary, revolutionary or developmental stages or processes of change. Theories of social change have proliferated; they are complex and it is acknowledged that society and sport is never static, rather that social, cultural, political and economic changes, to name but a few, occur constantly. Numerous scholars have contributed to a debate about the transformative capacity of sport (Gruneau, 1983; 1999; Kidd, 1996; Hill, 2002; Maguire, 2014). Picketty's (2014) recent analysis of capital in the twenty-first century serves as a reminder that social science research on wealth and its distribution has been at best limited and at worst a debate without data. While not accepting either of these assertions, the position adopted within this thesis is that sport can make a valuable contribution to social change when compared or

contrasted with broader or bigger elements of society or government policy for example.

The idea that society is continually undergoing a process of change and transformation and sport has a vital role to play within this has taken hold and sport has become increasingly used as a vehicle for social change (Kaufman and Wolff, 2010; Travers, 2013). There exists a proliferation of examples highlighting the positive role of sport in social transformations in areas as diverse as; social mobility (Sims and Rendell, 2004; Spaaij, 2009), gender and racial equality (Van Sterkenburg and Knoppers, 2004; Long et al, 2005) and social justice (Thorpe and Rinehart, 2013). Sport is recognised as contributing to contemporary social transformations including migration, urbanisation and globalisation where it takes on new spaces, forms, contexts and concepts (Maguire, 2005; Spaaij, 2011). Sport can transform bodies and minds; it can transform individuals and it can contribute to transforming societies. Sport as a transformative tool is used to meet MDG's and the SDG's where it contributes to sustainable development initiatives, and it is asserted that sport, in the hosting of mega sports events such as the Olympic Games brings hope and economic resurgence through the creation and regeneration of infrastructures. This list is by no means exhaustive and as the discussions within later chapters highlight: sport continues to play a role in modern social transformations, driven by SDP and other sports based initiatives, while also recognising that sustainable interventions have to be interrelated; built from the ground up and not only from the top down.

Sport then has an enormous potential and power to do good, but so too it can be (mis) used and in doing so inhibits social outcomes (Spaaij, 2009) and perpetuates and normalise injustices (Travers, 2012). Used inappropriately, unethically, or unsustainably, sport has the potential to transform society in a negative sense with

examples of drug use, corruption, cheating and violence serving as unfortunate illustrations of this (Stewart and Smith, 2008; Boykoff, 2011). That sport can showcase both the very best and very worst of human nature and society needs further exploration within any account of its place and value in and to society.

Returning to a more positive lens, what is clear is that sport has a role to play and can be an important intervention. It is the responsibility, as Schinke and Cole (2011) imply, of all its guardians and enactors to ensure it does so in the form which first captured the attention of the sociology community, where it was utilised for its political and ethical purity, its universal principles, its ability to transcend borders, its transformational powers, and its relationship to self and community improvement.

It is not necessary within this thesis to outline and critique the deep paradigmatic rivalry that has impacted upon the development of the sociology of sport and other areas over the years. For such an account see for instance Jarvie and Maguire (1994) on *Sport and Leisure in Social Thought* or more recently Maguire's (2014) *Social Sciences in Sport* to name but two accounts. What is necessary is an explanation of the approach that is taken in this thesis in providing a framework or problematic that both helps to organize the material systematically and inform the research questions and indeed research silences both within this and any other thesis. This aside, the simple point that is also being made in this discussion is an acknowledgement that sport can influence change in both sport itself but also broader societies of which it is a part.

1.2.7 Level 7: Sport, Development and Capability

New dimensions to the understanding of sport in society are being added all the time. While the world of sociology has begun to waken up to the promise of the capability

approach very few researchers have drawn upon Sen to inform sporting problems and issues. Sen (1999) published a comprehensive account of his capability approach in *Development as Freedom*, the central premise of which is a focus upon the development of human potential to enable everyone to lead a life they value. It is Sen's theoretical framework that weaves its way through this thesis and informs both the narrative and substantive accounts herein. The capability approach (CA) addresses concerns that Sen had about other approaches to describing and evaluating well-being, poverty and development where it was often reduced to a single metric relating to a very limited aspect of life and well-being (Sen, 1999; Sen, 2000; Sen, 2004).

The alternative Sen proposed was based in his belief that human's themselves are a nation's greatest resource. This proposal dramatically changes the ways in which society is considered since implicit within it is the need to provide the optimal conditions or environment which allows humans to flourish and bring forth their personal capabilities to societies. In doing so, it suggests that an individual's well-being needs to be both developed and examined in broader terms, which Sen (1999) proposed operate around their freedom to live a life they value.

Whilst Sen's approach is new, notions of well-being and freedom are not. Since Aristotle's (384 – 322 BC) considerations of a good life, philosophers have been thinking about human welfare. Perhaps most notable in relation to Sen's approach are social reformer Jeremy Bentham's (1748 – 1832) utilitarian approach and Immanuel Kant (1720 – 1804), who like Sen valued freedom within his thesis. The work of Aristotle, Bentham and Kant among others share Sen's concern with human well being and the constituent parts of a good life. In doing so they highlight the

applicability of this thesis to other lines of inquiry which may be worthy of consideration in inter-disciplinary approaches.

Returning to Sen's problematic, in his CA Sen analysed personal freedoms through what he called 'functioning's' or states of being and doing, and 'capabilities' which he described as the valuable set of functioning's a person has access to. The distinction between these is important: a functioning is an achievement, it is something realised, whereas capabilities are what is effectively possible, that is: the ability, freedom or opportunity to achieve. Functioning's focus on political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency and openness, protective security (Sen, 1999: 10), while the effective capability a person has is their freedom to choose different functioning's which they value. Sen proposed that evaluations of wellbeing should be based on what people are actually able to be and do rather than how much wealth, commodities or utility (mental reaction, or level of happiness) they have (Sen, 1999: 19). Thus, as a minimum Sen referred to development in terms of both human and economic capabilities. The approach also implies a level of interaction between agency and structure in which individuals and societies and or countries could influence change but not necessarily under conditions of their own choosing; a proposition that has historically been associated with some forms of Marxist thinking about sport (Carrington and McDonald, 2009; Westall, 2010; Ewan, 2011).

Sen's approach is expansive; not constricted by lists of either functionings or capability sets. Evans (2002) suggests it is purposefully vague in many respects and through this it leaves room for interpretation within other fields of endeavour. This

pluralism can be seen in the ways in which it has been theorised by others including: Anderson (1999), who proposed a theory of justice as equal capability of democratic citizenship; Alexander (2008), who proposed capability as freedom from domination; Walby (2009, 2011) who considered Sen's work in relation to feminism and Nussbaum (2000, 2010, 2011), who took forward many of the basic premises of the capability approach and developed these into her theory of justice which was notable both in its application of the approach to women and in its proposition that basic capabilities such as shelter and health are a basic human right (Nussbaum, 2000).

The contribution sport can make by invoking the capability approach to questions of individual well-being, development or freedom has only recently begun to be considered by some researchers (Bloodworth, McNamee and Bailey, 2012; Jarvie and Sikes, 2013; Sikes and Jarvie, 2014). While such accounts are limited in their attempt to systematically apply Sen's work to the sociology of sport this thesis, in taking on Holmwood's (2013) challenge, will provide a unique perspective that will add to the body of knowledge informing the use of sport to meet wider social and developmental issues.

1.3 Framing the Problem and a Way Forward

Poverty is an infringement of human rights (UN, 2006: 3), yet it remains a global phenomenon most frequently considered as a metric of those living on less than USD 2 per day. Yet poverty exists beyond simply the economic domain; it is multidimensional, with the ways in which it is constructed and categorised driven by the interplay of many contextual factors. Understanding poverty is therefore not straightforward and as a result of this, as well as the political and moral obligations

implicit within it, poverty remains a highly contested issue (Alcock, 1997; Lister, 2004).

The work of anthropologist Oscar Lewis (1959) shaped the way for early contemporary sociological discussions of both poverty and homelessness where he introduced notions of both a 'culture of poverty' and of a 'cycle of poverty'. Subsequently poverty has been theorised, analysed and politicised from multiple sociological perspectives including: economic theories (Jefferson, 2012), social theories (Wolf, 2007; Amendola, Garofalo and Nese, 2011), psychological theories (Carr and Sloan, 2003), and political science constructs (Lehning, 2007). Poverty and one extreme representation of it: homelessness, has been considered in relation to the construction of space, identity, race, class and gender; as individual or structural, rural or urban, economic or sociological. However, whilst rigid categorisations inform the poverty discourse, they are a limited prism through which to consider solutions involving sport and indeed no one approach, be they singular or multi-dimensional adequately explains all poverty (Bradshaw, 2006).

A subtle and positive paradigm shift in understanding poverty may be traced to the UN's recognition of poverty as a violation of human rights, which has led to a human rights approach to poverty reduction becoming widely recognised and implemented and through which ending poverty becomes a question of obligation rather than one of welfare or charity (UN, 2006: 3). Implicit within such an understanding is the notion of a solidarity that seeks to optimise wellbeing through the realisation of human fulfilment as much as material need and thus, global citizenship is central to a human rights approach to poverty (Dean, 2011). Since the turn of the century there is a growing recognition of the need to include the poor and the homeless more closely in the decision making processes in order to find effective solutions (UN_Habitat

2003; Lister, 2008) and this has been reflected in contemporary research which has increasingly sought to interface the theoretical with the real life experiences of the poor themselves, in doing so giving them both respect and recognition (Lister, 2008).

This is acted upon both methodologically and theoretically within this thesis, which approaches the question of sport, poverty and homelessness from a capability perspective. Sen's work is an important conceptual framework on a number of levels and it therefore might be worthwhile explicitly stating precisely why the work of Amartya Sen has been brought to bear on the research questions which inform this thesis. At least five reasons might be given initially: (i) Sen has a lot to say directly about poverty, (ii) in the work of Evangelista (2010) the capability approach has been specifically applied to homelessness, (iii) the implication of freedom to choose demands the need for educated individuals who are able to choose values based on a morally acceptable framework, (iv) sport can be many things within Sen's capability problematic; it is both a state of 'being' and of 'doing' and could be an effective capability that a person may choose in their valuable life, and (v) the capability approach, perhaps provocatively, enables sport to occupy a positive, broader, better recognised and more understood space within society.

1.4 Research Questions

Although sport has historically been recorded as offering a route out of poverty (Jarvie, 2006; Pitsiladis et al, 2007), there is a dearth of research into the practical application and efficacy of it to do so (Carter, 2005). The purpose of this research is in part to advance this gap in the sport in society body of research by contributing an original piece of research that offers new knowledge to this area. Guided by this and the concerns alluded to in the preceding introductory discussions, the following research questions are central to this thesis:

1. To what extent can sport contribute to the expansion of capabilities?
2. What is homelessness and can sport contribute to coping with the problems of homelessness?
3. Can sport contribute to what we know about poverty and provide an escape from it?

It is the overall synthesis of the research that is presented in this thesis that is its strength rather than any one individual chapter or any one individual research question. The thesis involves the fusion of theory and evidence and is broadly organized around this introduction, theoretical considerations, the findings of the research and a conclusion that returns to the research questions asked above.

1.5 Organisation of this Thesis

The initial synthesis presented above paves the way for further substantive material presented in chapters 2 through to 9. Chapter 2 necessarily talks to questions of research design, methodology, methods and ethics that informed thinking as the research unfolded and is a very honest discussion of a research process which was neither as straightforward as presented in the text books nor evolutionary in a clean stage by stage approach; chapter 3 considers social aspects of sport and a further understanding of the capability approach to sport; chapters 4 and 5 cover an understanding of poverty and one key aspect of it, namely homelessness and in doing so systematically incorporates and advances the discussion of capabilities and the approach taken; chapters 6, 7 and 8 are necessarily more substantive in that they present the somewhat extensive evidence drawn from work with both the Homeless World Cup and Street Soccer (Scotland). In doing so these chapters present a crucial

new definition of sport as the development of capabilities, thus in part answering the call of a number of scholars who have not only recognised the need for those working in many different ways in the broad area of sport in society to advance work on poverty and homelessness but also for those not working in the area of sport, such as some sociologists, to reflect upon Sen's potential contribution to sociology. In conclusion the final chapter draws together the central pillars of the analysis presented in this thesis.

The strength of this thesis lies in the continual interplay between the conceptual framework presented in the early chapters and the findings of the original research which present the lived experiences of participants.

1.6 Conclusion

This introduction to understanding sport as the expansion of capabilities has encompassed some of the most basic questions that might be asked about sport, poverty and homelessness. By tackling such concerns this introductory discussion has been somewhat lengthy in order to clear some of the ground and in a succinct and efficient way explain the key points of departure and entry into this thesis. In doing so it enables the remainder of the thesis to progress more rapidly, whilst retaining the depth of analysis across the broad subject matter essential to this thesis.

2.1 Introduction

The function of this chapter is to present the research design employed within this thesis in order to most appropriately answer the research questions which inform this work. It considers the paradigm, approaches, methodology as well as the methods adopted, and following these brief introductory comments is organised around the following headings: (i) a capability approach to sports research, (ii) research procedures, and (iii) conclusion. The research process is never entirely straightforward or neat and tidy and indeed the experience of this research has overcome several challenges, surprises, important moments as well as disappointments and this chapter will explore and explain these.

The research design and subsequent methods adopted have been necessarily selective, are not exhaustive but have facilitated the synthesis of theory and empirical data that makes up this thesis. This is a substantive thesis underpinned by a constructivist/interpretive paradigm which seeks to understand the interaction between individuals and their environments (Creswell, 2014: 8), in this case homeless people participating in street soccer. To achieve this, a qualitative approach was adopted which Thomas, Nelson and Silverman (2011) suggest is particularly useful in providing in-depth insight into individual's experiences in physical activity. This approach moves beyond simply reporting quantifiable statistics or facts limited in contextual perspective to make the critical inter-connections between personal life experiences and understand these within the theoretical framework provided by the capability approach as Golden-Biddle and Locke (2007: 4) highlight:

“...the major tasks of writing with qualitative data involve connecting the field and academic worlds via literature-based ideas that illuminate insights garnered in the field...”

This is critical in this work which values each individual’s perspective and listens to their personal experiences. In doing so it responds to Manicol’s (2005) observation that much of the research into the socially excluded has itself excluded those experiencing it, resulting in their voice remaining relatively unheard.

2.2 A Capability Approach to Sports Research

To describe this work as qualitative is only part of understanding the research design. It is informed by the capability approach (CA) which provides both the normative and methodological framework for this thesis and is not new to understanding poverty with researchers like Robeyns (2008:3) suggesting it can effectively conceptualise and evaluate poverty, inequality and well-being. Very few studies have considered the CA in regards to sport and so this thesis cannot follow any pre-set, recognised and agreed template, so adopts a simplistic and logical iterative approach which follows a number of sequential methodological steps.

Firstly, there is a need to return to Sen’s notions of functioning’s and capabilities in order to correctly situate the attributes which sport may or may not bring within the parameters of a CA. If capability is the set of functioning’s which enable a person to have the freedom to lead a life they value (Sen, 1992: 40), then the primary task of the research is to establish the type of life which each individual values. This itself is complex on a number of levels as Sen (1992) acknowledges; capabilities are often not observable so it is difficult to identify specific ones. Beyond that there exist difficulties in ascertaining whether the selection or non-selection (that is: choice) of

one capability over another is in-fact the free choice of an individual or the result of a utilitarianism in which Sen (1992) proposes that a fulfilled life in a utilitarian sense reflects choices adjusted down towards reality rather than actual freedom of choice.

In order to adequately comprehend human well-being as well as an individuals ability to lead a life they value, research methodologies must ensure they understand the desires and capabilities as well as the needs and free or real opportunities of an individual. In-depth interviews are therefore the most appropriate method to gather the depth and level of knowledge required. Their scope is enhanced by Sen's refusal to define a list of capabilities which allows malleability, and thus usefulness from a methodological perspective, of the approach. Indeed this 'incompleteness' of the CA allows the most valuable functionings and capabilities to be brought *to* the research and in doing so conceptualises the approach in unique ways, allowing critical factors such as cultural diversity and personal nuances to be better understood.

Once these valuable functionings and capabilities have been identified, the next task is to identify the ways and extent to which sport, in this case street soccer, may help individuals achieve that which they value. This thesis is grounded in the belief that sport has the potential to extend and expand functionings and capabilities and just as the approach itself is positively framed, this thesis is similarly thus. As such the research seeks to understand the personal accounts of the ways and extent to which street soccer affects the lives of the subjects in the two case studies. Central to the CA is the normative claim that freedom to achieve well-being is a basic human right which is best understood in terms of a person's opportunities to be and do that which they have reason to value (Sen, 2009). The methods therefore need to elicit a way

through which to understand the capabilities of the two sample populations (from the two case studies) in order to enable conclusions about the quality of their well-being and actual freedoms which exist in their lives. The procedures adopted to achieve this are explained in the next section.

2.3 Research Procedures

It would be wrong to assume that the first and second phase of collection of the interview data has been the sum total of the research process; it has not. The research process and collection and analysis of data within this thesis have been both lengthy and ongoing. On a very personal level my knowledge of research design has been built upon undergraduate and postgraduate training as well as tutorial discussions with first and second supervisors. This knowledge has been built, applied and the data gathered, managed and analysed over a seven year period. This section will consider this process and is organised around: (i) case study methodology, (ii) formulating the questions, (iii) ethical approval, and (iv) a summary of the fieldwork.

2.3.1 A Case Study Methodology

In order to capture the individual voices and situate them both contextually and conceptually, a case study methodology was chosen. Case study research has a degree of flexibility and Stake (1995) highlighted they can be designed to suit both the case and the research question, making it particularly useful for the needs of this thesis.

Qualitative case study methodologies are shaped not only by selection of methods, but also by study design and paradigm, whereby Stake (1995) situates case study in a

social constructivist paradigm while others, such as Yin (2012) situates it within post-positivism. In its conceptual grounding in the CA, this thesis utilizes the case study approach of Stake's social constructivism. That is not at the exclusion of consideration of Yin who in citing the need for case study research "...arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena" because; "...the case study method allows investigators to retain a holistic and real-world perspective..."(Yin, 2014: 4), highlights the common features of case study research which straddle paradigms and bring value to all case study research.

A case study is an intensive study of a specific context which captures the complexity of the object of study (Stake, 1995). The level of detail provided exceeds that of other approaches, as it enables understanding of personal experiences to provide basis for application of concepts and theories (Stake, 1995). According to Stake (1998) there exist three distinct types of case study: the intrinsic case, which seeks to understand a single case; the instrumental case which seeks to understand an issue or refine a theory; and the collective instrumental case, which considers multiple cases, each as its own entity but which can inform a singular theory or issue. This thesis was originally conceived as a single intrinsic case study, however review of literature and the findings of the HWC case study illuminated the need to delve deeper into the ways in which street soccer influenced capabilities and thus a collective instrumental approach was undertaken in which two cases were studied: the Homeless World Cup (HWC) and Street Soccer (Scotland) (SSS). Together these offer a way in which to understand how capabilities are developed at stages throughout the pathways out of homelessness and poverty.

2.3.2 Selecting the Case Studies

Initial exploration into sport as the development and expansion of capabilities occurred while working at Scotland's national sport school: Glasgow School of Sport. Here I observed that many of the sports pupils at the school came from areas of multiple deprivation and they excelled not only in their sporting endeavours, but in their personal and social development too. In what may be best described as pilot work, or a precursor to this thesis, informal interviews were conducted with sports pupils in an attempt to understand the personal nature of the extraneous social benefits they developed through sport. A more formal pilot interview was also conducted with one manager from Glasgow City Council Culture and Leisure Services responsible for the creation of the school. Although ultimately this work did not become part of the thesis it had an important role in shaping all aspects of it and led to the notion of understanding sport through personal capabilities.

The cases which were used were selected based on multiple and in each case, different, factors: (i) the insight they provide about the ways in which sport can develop capabilities at different levels which was both typical and atypical, (ii) the global appeal and use of soccer in SDP projects, and (iii) logistical reasons. This section will consider each of these in a global sense before looking at the selection of each case study more specifically. As a collective instrumental approach both of the cases selected informed the same theory and topic but did so from different perspectives. In doing so they enabled understanding of the multiple layers of changing and evolving capabilities in the players.

The insight these cases were able to provide was typical in the sense that both cases use sport as SDP, in this instance street soccer, to help ameliorate the effects of

poverty and homelessness. However, in their purposeful connection to social and economic enterprise as well as their focus on the homeless rather than ‘excluded’ they are both also somewhat atypical to the body of existing knowledge. Both cases also share the characteristic that they use sport to develop people, extending beyond sport to achieve broader social and personal development purposes. This is not new to sports research but where these studies offer a unique perspective is in their ability to purposely develop human potential through innovative approaches which use sport as social enterprise, concerned with social rather than economic impact. In this concern, I am suggesting that they align to the thinking of Sen and this is supported by their (largely unsubstantiated) claims that they change the lives of participants and which is considered later in the thesis.

This research looks behind and beyond these claims to determine the substance, nature and extent of the reported changes and what it means within a capability framework. These features add to the depth and relevance of these case studies, but the most compelling rationale for the selection of these two case studies above others is that they are completely separate, yet intrinsically linked organisations which enabled the exploration of the notion of different pathways which emerged from the literature review to be more fully explored. Doing so helped facilitate the theoretical - contextual interplay germane to this thesis.

The HWC was selected first based on its bold, yet largely unsubstantiated claim that over 70% of participants significantly changed their lives through their involvement in it. This idea of life change, coupled with the HWC’s focus on the homeless population made it an interesting subject for this study. The 2011 HWC took place at Camp du Mars in Paris, France from 21st - 28th August 2011, with sixty four teams from fifty three nations participating. The purpose of the research conducted at the

tournament was to begin to understand the sort of lives which the homeless players valued and how participation in the HWC helped them achieve these through understanding life changes in terms of capabilities. Additionally, it sought to understand the broader impact of the HWC in terms of capabilities and to this end also interviewed a referee, volunteers helping at the event, spectators, staff and former players.

The selection of the second case study, Street Soccer (Scotland) (SSS) grew out of both the theoretical research as well as the evidence generated by the HWC study. It was selected for numerous reasons, most pertinently: (i) founder and CEO David Duke was interviewed at Paris 2011 as part of the HWC case study and, (ii) in addition to David, two Scottish players who had come through the SSS programmes (1 male and 1 female) were also interviewed in Paris. Street Soccer (Scotland) was the ideal follow up study as in its connections to HWC it provided a more rounded and in-depth thesis which understands the impact of street soccer on different levels and at different stages of the homeless pathway. The Street Soccer (Scotland) centre in Glasgow was chosen above other Scottish cities since Glasgow is the largest and poorest city in Scotland, where one in three children live in poverty (PLP, 2015) and where homelessness is a continuing problem (Palmer, 2015). It is also a city defined by football and for these reasons it was deemed to have the most potential to provide an insightful picture of a local street soccer program in action.

The rationale for the selection of these cases above other possibilities was also influenced by the fact that there exists little published research into either organisation. Furthermore, by framing the thesis within the CA, their selection brings

a new and innovative understanding which contributes to the body of related research. Finally, their selection above other possibilities made sense on a logistical level too since they are based locally in Scotland which enabled accessibility.

2.3.3 Further Methodological Considerations

A qualitative case study methodology can involve multiple methods of data collection and analysis (Stake, 1998). All stages of the research within both case studies utilised (different) qualitative approaches. Yin (2014) lists six sources of evidence for data collection: (i) documentation, (ii) archival records, (iii) interviews, (iv) direct observation, (v) participant observation, and (vi) physical artefacts. The tools utilised to gather evidence were: historical analysis; reports and documentary analysis; personal interviews with current players; spectator interviews (HWC only); personal interviews with former players, and interviews with staff.

Using a range of approaches enabled triangulation of results which strengthens the results through what Flick (2009) describes as expanding and complimenting the knowledge produced. The first approach involved an analysis of all documentation, archival and web material with the purpose of charting the emergence and growth of the Homeless World Cup and Street Soccer (Scotland). This involved on-line research to find annual reviews and reports. The existing academic articles, inclusive of commissioned research, were then reviewed as part of the contextual background of the case studies. Doing so identified the gaps in the knowledge as well as enabling understanding of the lessons learned. No independent research has been conducted on SSS and only a limited number of articles about the HWC have been published to date. Informed by the work of Chong (2012) and that of Wallace and Wray (2011), the contextual review critically appraised the current body of evidence in order to

progress beyond simply reviewing and understanding, to unearth the weaknesses and gaps which needed building upon.

The new research generated by this thesis emerged through a series of in-depth interviews informed by and grounded in the CA. In doing so it responds to a growing consensus of the need for qualitative research which captures local knowledge (UN_Habitat 2003; Lister, 2008) to give this homeless population a voice. Kay (2009) suggests doing so can enhance both academic understanding and assist in the process of decolonisation of sport-in-development research.

2.3.4 Formulating the Interview Schedules

Brinkmann and Kvale (2014) describe seven stages of an interview investigation: (i) ‘themising’ an interview project, (ii) designing, (iii) interviewing, (iv) transcribing (v) analysing, (vi) verifying, and (vii) reporting. The remainder of this chapter will describe how the stages were developed for the interview investigations central within this thesis.

In order to address the questions which inform this thesis, and informed by the CA, there was a need to ask two main questions: (i) what life does each individual value? and, (ii) how does sport help achieve this? The central themes which emerged during the course of the literature review were considered when formulating the research questions. These included the need for a home as a primary focus as well as the other significant emerging factors, including but not limited to: the notion of pathways into and out of homelessness and of clear distinctions between what constitutes poverty and homelessness in the Global North (GN), the Global South (GS) and within an

interdependent world, as well as the role of sport as both sport plus and plus sport. These themes were central to the interviews during the first (HWC) case study.

The challenge of operationalising the CA in the methodology was illuminated by Hollywood, Egdell, McQuaid and Michel-Schertges (2012). These researchers highlighted the danger of focussing on the more easily measurable functionings (what they actually do) rather than their capabilities (their ability and freedom to achieve functionings), a problem which Sen himself (1992:52) acknowledges. In order to avoid this, further research unearthed two pieces of work which were decisive in formulating the questions and developing the interview schedules: the seminal work of Nussbaum (1995) who applied the framework of the capability approach to a theory of justice, and that of Kerstenetzky and Santos (2009) who adopted a CA to their study of Rio de Janeiro's favelas.

The importance of these in shaping the questions was the contrast between them: Nussbaum (1995: 85) listed the 10 capabilities necessary to lead a good life, which are as follows: (i) being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length, (ii) being able to have a good health, adequate nutrition, adequate shelter, opportunities for sexual satisfaction and choice in reproduction, and mobility, (iii) being able to avoid unnecessary and non-beneficial pain and to have pleasurable experiences, (iv) being able to use the sense, imagine, think, and reason and to have the educational opportunities necessary to realise these capacities, (v) being able to have attachments to things and persons outside ourselves, (vi) being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's own life, (vii) being able to live for and to others, to recognise and show concern for other human

beings, (viii) being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals and the world of nature, (ix) being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities, and (x) being able to live one's own life and no one else's; enjoying freedom of association and freedom from unwarranted search and seizure.

In contrast, Kerstenetzky and Santos (2009) used functionings, perhaps because, as Sen highlighted, these are easier to observe (Sen, 1992: 52). The 13 functionings they identified are: (i) be well sheltered, (ii) be healthy, (iii) do gratifying work, (iv) enjoy a good level of schooling, (v) have protected children, (vi) enjoy the access to public services, (vii) do not suffer discrimination, (viii) be free from hunger and undernourishment, (ix) dress adequately, (x) participate in community life, (xi) participate in the associative life of the city, (xii) live without fear and with hope for the future, and (xiii) be happy and proud of oneself. The interview schedule (Appendix 1 and 2) for the case studies was developed following careful consideration of both these lists as well as the themes which emerged during the literature review, which were: (i) poverty and homelessness as existing on pathways, and (ii) development and sustainability in sport plus and plus sport senses.

Through a semi-structured approach to interviews, questions were able to be guided by the interviewee's responses in order to obtain the richest level of insight possible from each individual. This continual organic evolution of interviews, informed by the themes and the need to illuminate capabilities was made possible by the quantity of interviews undertaken: in total 37. This enabled considerable early evolution in questions without detracting from the overall depth and quality of the data produced. Throughout the process I was mindful of the various levels and types of analysis,

questions and themes informing the thesis but my priority was to understand the broader narrative from the different and personal perspectives. The schedule this included questions informed by both capabilities and functionings, but critically, understood respondents answers and experiences in terms of capabilities since this provided insight into the opportunity aspect central to the CA as well as understanding different levels and types of capability.

Since the knowledge gained from the HWC case study informed and was built upon in the second study, separate interview schedules were created for each (Appendix 1 and 2). All interviews were preceded by general introductory questions designed to build trust and rapport because it is this relationship between interviewer and interviewee that produces the knowledge (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2014). These introductory questions were unstructured and related directly to the interviewee, taking account of cultural differences; awareness of which Shah (2004) suggests is required in order for interviews to be effective. The questions I used centred upon my interest in football (soccer) to talk to them about the game. Foremost in mind while conducting these interviews was the need to understand what life and capabilities were important to the participants and the ways in which the HWC and SSS helped develop these.

Patton (2004) suggests that the relationship between interviewee and interviewer can significantly affect the outcome of an interview and factors such as the interviewer's behaviour and research environment are important to the outcome. Acting upon this I conducted interviews in-situ, pitch side and with a relaxed and informal manner. Although this did result in some background noise and other distractions, particularly

at the HWC, participants responses were natural, open and insightful. Through this informal approach and by using the comprehensive interview schedules as a guide, exploration of the rich contextual detail which emerged was possible. This provided the opportunity to expand on issues which arose which is important since, what may seem to be irrelevant or overly wordy responses, may be highly significant moments which illustrate what is of real importance to subjects (Bryman, 2001; Patton, 2004).

In total 37 interviews, with 41 people were conducted: 1 pilot interview; 26 interviews at the HWC in August 2011 (24 individual and 2 small group interviews); 2 follow up interviews with HWC staff; and 8 with SSS participants (7 players and 1 former player) in March and April 2014 (listed in Appendix 6). Unconstrained by the tournament pressures and scheduling parameters, the 2014 interviews were able to progress beyond those at the HWC to explore in more depth the ways and extent to which street soccer impacted on capabilities and personal freedoms. In all cases, participants were self-selected based on their willingness to give their time and to participate. Neither case study had a predetermined sample size, instead saturation point, the point at which little new data was emerging but common themes and interesting individual nuances had been generated (Robson, 2011), was the determining factor.

The question of ‘how many qualitative interviews is enough?’ depends on many factors, both philosophically and practically based (Baker and Edwards, 2012). In electing to conclude data collection with 37 interviews, this research fits with Mason’s (2010) findings that across a sample of 179 PhD’s which utilized case study methodology, the number of interviews conducted was found to fall in a range from 1 - 95 and the Mean sample size was 36. The sample size was only part of the

robustness of this thesis. Within a case study it is necessary to ensure data convergence in order to understand the big picture (Baxter and Jack, 2008: 555), in this case the ways in which sport in different settings (the two cases) can expand capabilities. In my use of two separate case studies, each with multiple phases completed over a four year period, in different settings, using a depth and diversity of source, triangulation of the data is achieved and this adds to validity and the overall strength of this thesis.

The 2011 HWC research primarily sought to establish the types of capabilities, as identified by the players, which the HWC helps foster and enhance. In doing so, these interviews clearly delineated a list of capabilities which participation in HWC developed the result of which was the ability to reach conclusions about capability expansion and the life changes facilitated by participation in the HWC.

However, initial reflection and analysis highlighted that these interviews with the players were limited because they were a select few, from a far more extensive homeless population engaged in formalised street soccer, who had made it to the HWC. Whilst they identified the capabilities street soccer helped to develop, it was difficult to attribute these specifically to the HWC. Instead what emerged was a picture of local street soccer organisations as equally, if not more, important than the annual HWC. This prompted the need to expand the research to include interviews with the personnel driving local street soccer programmes in order to examine the changes in capabilities at this level. This led to staff involved in the day to day running of these projects being interviewed. In total interviews with 5 managers connected to local projects: one each from Africa and Europe and 3 from Asia took place at the 2011 HWC. Additionally, interviews with the HWC's International

Partnership Manager, Deb Ball and with HWC co-founder and President, Mel Young were also conducted following the event.

Through this series of interviews, this thesis is able to address the dearth of independent analysis into the work of the HWC at local grass roots level and provides understanding of both HWC and local perspectives. Doing so presented a more complete picture of the impact and life changes as understood through capabilities which participants expanded as a result of their involvement in the HWC. These interviews also emphasised the need for a secondary level of analysis through a second case study focussing on the changes in personal capabilities facilitated through a local street soccer partner.

This second case study built on the knowledge gained through the HWC interviews to provide a closer examination of the expansion of individual capabilities and understand the differences this made to the quality of the lives of the homeless people participating in street soccer in one local community. The extended time span of the research enabled it to evolve and respond to the new knowledge and adds to the richness of the data and analysis presented. In doing so it mirrors the pathway of the homeless people themselves and enables understanding of the ways in which sport helps expand capabilities at different points of the pathways out of homelessness, filling a void in the existing body of knowledge. It is in the fusion of these two case studies that understanding of the impact of street soccer during different phases of the pathways of the homeless people emerges.

2.3.5 Ethical Approval

This study went through three sets of ethical approval in three different places: (i) at the University of Stirling, where I was enrolled during the initial phases of research, (ii) by Moray House School of Education Research Ethics Committee following the decision to transfer my PhD to University of Edinburgh, and (iii) by the board of Vancouver Street Soccer League (VSSL) with whom an attempt was made to include them as an additional case study but after a lengthy process and little progress in gaining access to players, this did not go ahead.

A number of measures were used to inform and protect all participants. Firstly, consent to work with the subjects was obtained through the organisations: The Homeless World Cup Foundation and Street Soccer Scotland, as well as individually with each of the participants themselves. Everyone received information about the research and signed a consent form prior to their involvement (Appendix 4). All participants were made aware that they could opt out at any time.

During the introductory part of the interviews the aims of the research and purpose of the interview were made clear and spoken consent to record the conversation was sought. No-one objected to interviews being recorded and all participants were subsequently coded in order to protect their identity and ensure privacy and anonymity. Interviews varied in length from 20 minutes (shortest) to 75 minutes (longest) and were on average 40 minutes in duration. Throughout the course of all the interviews I was highly sensitive to any discomfort experienced by the interviewee and conducted interviews in a personal and caring manner. Finally, all transcripts and audio files have been stored on my password protected personal home computer where they are solely accessible to me. In accordance with procedure and as promised to all participants, these files will be destroyed once the thesis is completed.

2.3.6 Summary of Fieldwork

The field work was accumulative, lengthy and ongoing. This section discusses this process as it relates to the two case studies and is organised around some introductory comments which consider the first two methodologies adopted which utilised documentary evidence before advancing to examine the interview procedures adopted in each separate case study.

Prior to embarking on each of the interview phases, documentary analysis was undertaken which examined existing printed and computer generated materials pertinent to each organisation. This included impact and annual reports as well as newspapers, books, blogs and in particular the web sites of each of the organisations were important primary sources. Such documentary analysis can be an important source of information in qualitative case study research as it supports the detailed descriptions of organisations, events, or phenomena (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1984). The synthesis of the historical and documentary analysis into the case studies went on to inform the contextual analysis of the two case studies which is presented in chapter 6.

2.3.6.1HWC Case Study: August 2011

This next section introduces the procedures of data collection, management and analysis in connection with the first case study: the HWC, and was conducted in August 2011.

2.3.6.1.1 Data Collection: Interviews

Twenty six interviews were conducted at the HWC in Paris on 26th, 27th and 28th August, 2011. These varied in length and depth and included interviews with players, managers, coaching and support staff, volunteers working at the event, spectators and officials. A cross section of age, gender and nationality was included in order to present a comprehensive review and analysis of what the HWC means and achieves, as well as the live changes and capabilities it helps enable and the personal freedoms it brings to homeless people, regardless of individual contexts. All interviews were digitally recorded and additional notes were taken during and after each interview in order to record some key points of emphasis as well as interpret the accompanying body language and other general behavioural observations which were deemed significant to the stories being told by the respondents.

In total 12 players from 9 different nations were interviewed, all of whom were eligible to play in the HWC, that is, they complied with the HWC's stringent player regulations (Appendix 5). Identification of players and initial approach to them was in conjunction with their team manager and where necessary, their translator. Everyone selected signed consent forms prior to the interview and fully understood its purpose. An additional 5 former players were also interviewed. These players were attending the 2011 HWC in various roles to help assist either with the organisation of the event or with coaching or managing one of the teams participating.

Broader perspectives and evidence of the impact of the HWC on the development of capabilities was examined through an additional 9 interviews with a broader group. These interviews included 2 group interviews, one with a spectator group (SP1, 2 and 3) and one with a volunteer group (V1, 2 and 3). Five staff from local street soccer

projects, one other support staff (referred to by name) and 2 additional volunteers – 1 fulfilling the role of referee at the tournament and 1 working as an interpreter (V4 and V5) were also interviewed. Finally and as mentioned, 2 HWC staff were also interviewed later in the research process.

The interviews with the five former players were particularly insightful as they enabled longitudinal insight into the life changes and the ways in which their freedoms and capabilities had been expanded. Four of the former players had played in the 2008 HWC, while the fifth had originally played in the 2004 event and had been involved in various capacities at every HWC since. All former players were engaged in the Paris 2011 HWC in official roles including, coaching, volunteering and managing teams. Expanding the interview pool to include former players enabled comment on sustainability in respect to life changes and personal capability, a perspective of which is particularly useful to the SDP arena and which is explored later in this thesis. Interviewing spectators and volunteers also enabled this research was able to mirror and build upon previous work by Sherry (2010), Magee (2011) and Magee and Jeanes (2011).

2.3.6.1.2 Data Management

For the HWC results, everyone was assigned a code based on whether they were a current player (CP) or former player (FP); male (M) or female (F); from the global north (GN) or global south (GS) and were given a number based on their chronological position in the sequence of interviews (1 = first interviewed, 2 = second person interviewed etc.). Thus, a female Kenyan player who was the sixth person interviewed would be coded (CP6/F/GS).

With the exception of the HWC employees and other staff, who are happy to be referred to by name, all other interviewees are referred to by the code assigned to them. Former player David Duke also waived anonymity and is referred to by name. David was interviewed in 2011 and is a former HWC player, but his multiple roles should be noted here and will be reinforced later: he is founder of SSS, a global ambassador for the HWC and was attending the 2011 HWC as manager to the Scottish women's team.

Indeed, all the former players interviewed in 2011 were, like David Duke, male and were involved in coaching and managerial tasks with their home nations, with the exception of FP2 who had fled his home nation due to threat on his life and thus was a Paris based volunteer at the event. Five out of twelve current players were from nations from the GS, providing a good balance of GN/GS perspectives and what capabilities and opportunities may mean in different global regions.

In contrast to other research into the HWC which has focussed on males, eight of the twelve interviewed were female and of those eight, five were from the GS. This was important because typically women in the GS experience a limited life in terms of personal freedoms and opportunities and indeed gender equity has become central to sustainable international development efforts (Asian Development Bank, 2013; ILO, 2014). It also begins to address the gap in the body of research where particularly in GS regions, women's perspectives have existed largely on the periphery (Sikes and Bale, 2014) and I will return to consider women's perspectives in relation to development of capabilities later in this thesis.

2.3.6.2 Street Soccer Scotland (SSS) Case Study: April - May 2014

This next section introduces the procedures of data collection, management and analysis in connection with the second case study: SSS which was conducted in March and April 2014.

2.3.6.2.1 Data Collection: Interviews

A total of eight interviews were conducted over a series of dates in March and April 2014. Seven current players, all male, were interviewed as well as the SSS coach whom I had interviewed him previously as a player at the 2011 HWC. He was now employed as a coach at Street Soccer Scotland (SSS). In procedures similar to those adopted in 2011, all interviewees were selected based on their willingness to be involved and were interviewed immediately after their weekly drop-in session at SSS in Glasgow. The same ethical and recording procedures used in the HWC study were followed again in this case study.

2.3.6.2.2 Data Management

Codes assigned for SSS players were more straightforward since players were only required to be coded based on where they fell numerically in the interview order, so were assigned the chronological number based on their position within the list of interviewees, so they became: SSS1, SSS2, SSS3, SSS4, SSS5, SSS6 and SSS7. The final SSS interview was with a former HWC player whom I interviewed in 2011 and was coded CP5/M/GN. By 2014 he was a coach with SSS and thus was coded: CP5/M/GN/SSSC in order to reflect his longitudinal involvement and changing roles.

2.3.7 Analysis and Discussion

Following the data collection I transcribed and organised the interviews, performing some initial analysis whilst doing so. The transcribed interviews were then printed and coded using highlighter pen in order to note key themes, re-occurring concepts and in particular the evidence of increasing and expanding capabilities. Although coding is highly subjective (Sipe and Ghiso, 2004: 482), it is a useful method by which to categorise the emerging themes. This coding took considerable time as I completed it manually as opposed to utilising computer software in order to account for different levels of analysis, focussing on both meaning and language which Brinkmann and Kvale (2014) suggest requires linguistic, conversational, narrative and discourse analysis.

Emerging patterns and themes were coded during the initial reading before subsequent readings went deeper into identifying sub-themes. I then used mind maps to create links between the coded responses of the interviewees which began to produce a network of themes I was able to analyse and talk to. This made it easier to complete the comprehensive analysis which established the link between the theoretical framework provided by the CA and the individual narratives which emerged from the interviews. According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2014), the purpose of analysis is to uncover the meaning of the question and thus subsequent discussion was structured around the emerging themes in order to understand the ways in which capabilities were developed.

The case studies permitted insight and analysis on two levels: (i) the HWC as an event which enabled understanding of the development of capabilities of individuals participating at an annual HWC, and (ii) analysis of SSS as a year round local organisation which allowed understanding of the expansion of individual capabilities in one of the local street soccer programmes as well as insight into the ways in which

these are built on a day to day level. Doing so enables broader conclusions to be drawn about the ways in which the HWC and its local partners contribute to overcoming the problems of homelessness and poverty through identifying the capabilities and opportunities they provide for individuals. This thesis is grounded in the belief that sport has the potential to permeate all aspects of life and in its ability to do so has the potential to extend and expand a limitless number of individual capabilities.

2.4 Conclusions

This chapter has described the nature of the research design and research process utilised in this thesis. It has explained the rationale, problems and solutions that impinged upon the research process.

This qualitative research utilises multiple methods of data collection and analysis within two case studies in order to generate data concerned with social processes, specifically, to understand the ways in which street soccer helped socially excluded participants to expand their personal capabilities. Using a range of source materials and personal interviews provided a confluence of evidence as well as an additional degree of validity. That is to say; the evidence in this thesis is not reliant upon on any one source but rather a range of sources.

One draw-back of the case study methodology is that its specificity means general conclusions about broader population are not possible (Stake, 1995, 1998). However this thesis, conceptually guided by the capability approach, values each individual and does not wish to make sweeping statements about general populations, but

instead understand the voices of the thirty eight individuals interviewed across the two case studies.

The thesis now advances to provide a review of the literature which considers the levels of entry and analysis which inform this thesis. In doing so the next three chapters delineate the contextual framework, highlighting the main theoretical concepts as well as identifying the gaps in the existing research.

3.1 Introduction

There has been considerable interest in the social role that sport can play in society. This chapter presents the contextual and theoretical ways in which this has been understood and interpreted within the body of knowledge. In doing so this chapter touches upon a spectrum of social uses and benefits, both assumed and substantiated, that sport can bring to all levels of society. In asking ‘what is the social value of sport?’ this chapter will reflect upon the ways in which sport contributes to wider social agendas. By reviewing some of the existing research that has both evidenced and analysed the social value of sport, this chapter will further advance a theoretical or conceptual understanding that informs this thesis.

It is perhaps worthwhile briefly commenting upon what this chapter is not and why such an approach has been taken. This chapter does not set out to provide an exhaustive account of the sociology of sport and the different theoretical paradigms that informed this body of work. Such an account can be found in the work of Jarvie and Maguire, 1994; Maguire et al 2002; Jarvie and Thornton, 2012 and Maguire, 2014. Nor does this chapter or this thesis attempt to provide an exhaustive account of a social policy or social aspects of sport orientated body of work such as that found in Eitzen, 2003; Coalter, 2007; 2013; Hoye, Nicholson and Houlihan 2010 and; Kay and Duffield, 2013. In many respects the approach that is taken here is to draw upon both bodies of work where it is necessary or illuminating to explain the core issues of poverty, homelessness, and capability with the latter providing the dominant lens through which to inform a discussion on social aspects of sport.

It is accepted that the outcome might not be conventional in terms of the normal sport in society type thesis but it allows it to provide an original synthesis of work and concentrate on a number of core ideas and concepts rather than an exhaustive overview of everything. In the end the judgement, focus and balance of material has been focused upon a number of select bodies of work that are necessary to comment upon as both important background but also to differentiate them from the approach that informs this thesis.

More specifically the objectives of this chapter are to: (i) delineate aspects of the social value of sport in society, (ii) examine the ways in which sport, development and society interact and collide and the nature of this relationship, and (iii) explore the possibilities of understanding sport from a capability perspective. In order to deliver these objectives this chapter is divided into four parts. Part one considers the wider social benefits of sport, part two reflects upon the notions of social capital and social inclusion and the contribution that this body of work has made to any social agenda, part three analyses the relatively recent body of work on sport for development and peace, and part four considers the notion of sport for development from a capability perspective before concluding by drawing together the main points that have been made in this chapter.

3.2 The Wider Social Benefits of Sport

It is only relatively recently, according to both Oughton and Tacon (2007) and Houlihan (2010), that academics and policy makers have turned their attention to analysing the wider social benefits of sport. The core assertion is that as well as the direct benefits generated by the growth of sport, that the effects of sport can influence a wide range of broader areas. This has included health and physical

fitness, crime reduction and community safety, educational attainment, economic impact and legacies and social cohesion. The degree to which researchers agree on the level of influence is difficult to ascertain. Divisions exist between different bodies of researchers and the need for more evidence, more studies and more comparisons seems to be ever-present. That said, the extent to which it is accepted that sport has a contribution to make to broader social policy is evident in the work of many researchers and Spaaij's (2014) overview of sport and social policy while examining some of the many perspectives, concepts and debates about sport and social policy acknowledges that sport and equality, sport and social inclusion, sport for welfare, and sport in international development have a presence in debates about social policy. Studies such as that by Coalter (2007) also acknowledge that there is an increasing governmental interest in sport for good while also being a clarion call for evidence, logic and criticism of an approach that is too evangelistic about the social value of sport.

The accumulated state of knowledge in areas such as health, education, and crime reduction is vast (Gould and Carson, 2008; Edwards, 2012; Eime et al, 2013). Most recently an emphasis on economics and preventative spending has coloured part of the discourse about the social benefits of sport (Gratton, 2012; Holt, Ruta and Panter, 2015). Whilst these areas of health, education and crime reduction do not necessarily form the focus of this thesis, it is perhaps wise to at least acknowledge that such a body of research has had a positive part to play in establishing the credibility of sport in terms of achieving wider social benefits.

On the question of health, a substantial body of evidence exists which points to the contribution that sport makes in areas such as disease prevention, disease regression, recovery and rehabilitation purposes (Warburton, Nicol and Bredin, 2006). There

exist extensive records of the many physical and psychological benefits of regular exercise (Fentem, 1994, 1996; Edwards, Edwards and Basson, 2012; Edwards, 2012), as well as the detriments to health caused by *inactivity* (Wang et al, 2012). In particular high correlations are now well established between sporting involvement and physical health conditions, including: cardio vascular disease (Jolliffe et al, 2001; Myers et al, 2004), high blood pressure (Warburton, Nicol and Bredin, 2006; Miyashita, Burns and Stensel, 2008; Brook et al, 2013), diabetes (Manson et al, 1992; Plotnikoff et al, 2010), breast and colon cancer (Holmes et al, 2005) and osteoporosis (Liu-Ambrose et al, 2004).

Psychological benefits are supported by a growing evidence base (Danish, Forneris and Wallace, 2005; Rendi et al, 2008; Eime et al, 2013) which details evidence including a reduction in stress, anxiety and depression (Scully, 1998; Newman and Motta, 2007; Motta et al, 2012). Although the extent of psychological benefits has been questioned, with some studies pointing to the relationship between exercise and self-esteem producing only short-term changes (Spence, McGannon and Poon, 2005; Ekeland, Heian and Hagen, 2005), more recent studies highlight clear psychological benefits to exercise (Rendi et al, 2008) and suggest that sport and in particular team sport, is associated with improved psychological health above and beyond improvements attributable to participation in physical activity (Eime et al, 2013).

On the question of education, sport contributes to the educational components within both social and development agendas which have an interest in its value in enhancing academic achievement as well as wider educational benefits such as broadening horizons and improving life skills (Gould and Carson, 2008). In a US study which examined physical activity in youths, Strong et al (2005) examined academic

performance, fitness levels and a number of health indicators, concluding that school children can gain both health and behavioural benefits if they participate in an hour or more physical activity every day. Other studies have found similar positive correlations between cognitive performance and sport (Etnier et al, 1997; Sallis et al, 1999; Castelli et al, 2007; Trudeau and Shephard, 2008) and there is some persuasive evidence to suggest that physical activity can improve children's concentration and arousal, which might indirectly benefit academic performance (Bailey et al, 2009).

Sport and education are increasingly linked within projects in both the Global North (GN) and Global South (GS). In GN nations, this is apparent through sports schools which offer adapted curricula and timetabling in order to harness and develop sporting talent or increase participation (Coalter, 2011; 2013), as well as through local community projects which develop life skills through sporting activities (Goudas et al, 2006). This mirrors the work in the regions of the GS where sport is frequently used in development initiatives to help educate individuals and communities on essential health issues such as HIV/AIDS and malaria (Burnett, 2013). In these cases the sporting activity is frequently adapted and improvised to bring across specific objectives in a fun and active way. It seems that in the multitude of forms and malleability of these to suit different environments and audiences, the potential of sport to help meet educational objectives and as a broader learning tool is unequivocal.

Having said that, some researchers remain ambivalent, largely due to the difficulty in directly attributing any changes solely to sport (Sallis et al, 1999; Lindner, 1999 in Coalter, 2005; Daly and Ryan, 2000; Bailey, 2005). There is thus a need for more research examining purported links as well as the best activities and methodologies

by which to combine sport and education in order to ensure maximum benefit and outcome from ‘teacher’ and ‘pupil’ perspectives. This is also true of the contribution that sport and physical activity make to health where qualitative evidence reported by Coalter, Allison and Taylor (2000) suggests that in fact the greatest health benefit that could be attributed to physical activity was an increased *feeling* of well-being and not necessarily any physical benefit, what Bloodworth, McNamee and Bailey (2012) refer to as: hedonistic benefits relating to subjective well-being.

On the question of crime reduction, the capacity of sport to contribute to a reduction of crime and youth delinquency gained increased attention in the UK during the late 20th and early 21st centuries with the Labour government’s (1997-2010) mandate which put sport on the political social agenda. In this, social policy was utilised in three distinct ways: (i) as a tool to help positively change behaviour through discipline, self-control and increased self-esteem, (ii) as a diversion from crime, and (iii) as a form of rehabilitation (Bailey, 2005). However, its reported efficacy in meeting these social objectives was inconclusive: both Ommundsen (2000) and Chamberlain (2013) cited testimony of its ability to counteract juvenile delinquency and antisocial development as equivocal, while others including Andrews and Andrews (2003) declared the use of sport as a rehabilitative tool to be viable and there exists evidence in support of its ability as a diversion (West and Crompton, 2001) and more recent evidence of its ability to assist the rehabilitation of young people leaving custody (Parker, Meek and Lewis, 2014).

3.3 Sport, Social Capital and Social Inclusion

Contentions aside, that sport had a role to play on the social agenda is unequivocal and it remains a highly visible social tool both in the UK and global agendas. One

reason for this is its multi-dimensional nature and broad appeal which ensures reach, engagement and enjoyment while contributing as part of the solution to a myriad of social problems. Particularly a preeminent societal problem: that of exclusion.

A substantial body of evidence supports the ability of sport to increase social interactions (Svoboda, 1994; Wankel and Sefton, 1994; Auld, 2008, Hoye and Nicholson, 2012). So too, it is widely recognised as having the potential to assist with the development of broader social skills, including better team work, tolerance, respect, leadership skills as well as life lessons such as learning to win and lose (Gould and Voelker, 2010). Sport has the ability to bring mixed and varied people together in common endeavour and in doing so is the simple vehicle for conversation and the development of relationships. Sport itself provides the subject matter for communication and this thesis suggests it can go further to contribute in many and significant ways to increasing ones capabilities and in doing so offers infinite potential to help provide personal freedom within Sen's (1999) conceptualisation of this.

This is perhaps best exemplified through its contribution to increasing and improving social capital. Social capital may be best defined as the fusion of physical resources such as buildings, finance and equipment, with human resources such as knowledge and experience which enables the creation of social networks in an environment of trust and reciprocity (Putnam, 2000). Putman's seminal work: *Bowling Alone* (2000), led to the status of social capital growing within political and academic circles, where the notion that sport had a role to play in developing social capital was first brought to the fore (Nicholson and Hoye, 2008). Putman's social capital spoke to a shared sense of community facilitated by the fusion of resources (Blackshaw and Long, 2005). This is important since in doing so he placed the human element of

capital at the centre, in what Glover and Hemingway (2005) summarised as a ‘civic’ approach.

Such notions of shared community have come to prominence more recently through the links between sport and global citizenship (Andrews and Grainger, 2007; Darnell, 2012). Sport today is recognised as a global phenomenon, to be explored as a way to help improve the expanding global community which increasingly shares socio-political concerns (Darnell, 2012). This sense of community is supported by DeGraaf and Jordan (2003) who described social capital as the features or links of social life which enable community members to work together more effectively to achieve common goals, or as understood within the context of this thesis: to increase personal capabilities and freedoms in both personal and community respects. That community and individual potential are inextricably tied together in a symbiotic relationship is gaining increasing attention, with researchers now recognising that human societies are unable to function effectively without consensus and high profile failures to reach consensus such as the Kyoto Agreement on climate change demonstrate the gravity of failed agreement (Conradt and Roper, 2005). This would support the need for an increased use of team sports in particular to meet social objectives and indeed the social capital debate may fit best to a team sport paradigm. Despite this, much of the literature simply refers to *sport* as an important arena for the creation and maintenance of social capital (Tonts, 2005) and there is a need for future research to look specifically at different types and different outcomes in order to bring clarity to this discussion.

According to Zakus, Skinner and Edwards, (2009: 994) “Sport inherently holds and can develop the key common elements of social capital”, and there exists significant evidence of the positive role of sport in the re-generation of local communities

(Harris, 1998; Delaney and Keaney, 2005), community integration (Wankel and Sefton, 1994; Best, 1999), as well as its ability to strengthen the identification and spirit within them (Hague and Mercer, 1998). Etzioni (1993) notes the role of community based sports and leisure facilities in the creation of social connectedness and analysis indicate social capital is robust across performance levels, with participation in sport and social capital linked at both a national and an individual level in the UK (Delany and Keaney, 2005). More recently, Horne et al (2011) found strong bonding and symbiotic capital in Scottish independent schools, while Rosso and McGrath (2013) suggested that social capital can affect the technical development of athletes. Indeed the reach of sport in the development of social capital extends beyond simply participation: in a US study of ‘tailgaters’ (fans who drive to sports events and picnic out of their SUV’s), a cohesive bond was found between them which reaffirms a sense of community to the point where a distinctive subculture is created (Delaney and Oswego, 2008).

Specifically, it has been proposed sport has the potential to impact on three types of social capital: (i) ‘bridging capital’ which refers to the more distant ties between similar people, (ii) ‘bonding capital’ which describes the close ties between family and friends, and (iii) ‘linking capital’, which gives access to a much wider range of resources as it describes the relationships between individuals and groups which cross boundaries (Sherry, 2010). While Vermeulen and Verweel (2009) warn of complexities associated with the bonding and bridging forms of capital, what seems to matter most to the development of social capital is the type of people one meets through sport and the kind of resources available within the network to which they gain access. This suggests that team sports and the multi-sport club environment is

optimal to provide the best platform for the creation of a network of contacts and help build a common identity, loyalty and bond which binds individuals into groups, teams and societies. There are however complex and nuanced barriers to developing social capital through sports clubs which are not yet fully understood (Nichols, Tacon and Muir, 2013) and which require further investigation.

The role of sport in the creation of social capital and communities needs strengthening through further evidence (Oughton and Tacon, 2007; Nicholson and Hoye, 2008), and in particular there is a need for more research which considers how best sport can impact on the creation of *positive* social capital, since it has the potential to be as much a divider as an integrator (Vermeulen and Verweel, 2009). Historically it has been used to emphasise divisions of race and gender (Daly, 2005), offer opportunities for the appearance of ‘old boys’ networks in which sport is used to maintain their own power and control (Bourdieu, 1983), and promote educational and social advantage (Horne et al, 2011). The ability of sport to develop and strengthen social capital has also been directly criticised on the bases that the social connections generated by sport may be more associated with consumer-based markets than with democracy (Dyreson, 2001), and the effect of sports organisation is weaker than for membership of organisations in general (Seippel, 2006). This equivocalness highlights the fragile and transient nature of social capital; it is instable and fluid (Bates, 2002; Tonts, 2005; Okayasu, Kawahara and Nogawa, 2010) and as such it is difficult to make definitive assertions. Connect social capital with sport, which is similarly contested in nature, and we have an area replete with contrasting evidence.

Contemporary considerations of sport and social capital further expose its darker side. It can create and contribute to corrupt and unethical sport and actually lead to social exclusion (Tonts, 2005). Leading global sporting organisations including the IOC and FIFA are now facing the consequences of this dark side of capital, with the 2014 Winter Olympic Games hampered by corruption allegations a reported half of the 25 billion USD cost of the games being ‘trouserred’ by officials directly linked to President Putin, (Boyes, 31/5/2013). So too social inclusion re-gained an international foothold at these Olympics, with Russia’s high profile rejection of gay rights leading the UN general assembly to call for Russia to ‘promote social inclusion without discrimination’ during the Games (Nichols, 6/11/2013). Putin’s defence that ‘sport is sport’ is weak at best but mirrors earlier examples of the IOC similarly pursuing the unacceptable ideology of ‘non-political sport’ which led to them ignoring the Tibet issue during the 2008 Beijing Olympic (Digel, 2010).

The social capital debate is less contentious in the contribution it makes to the inclusion of marginalised groups (Jarvie, 2003; DeGraaf and Jordan, 2003), where it can both contribute to, and arise from, inclusion (Jarvie, 2007). At this juncture it is important to clarify precisely what is understood by social inclusion as it is the socially excluded which are of concern within this thesis.

Social inclusion is a broad term which has a variety of meanings in different settings (Bates, 2002) and in this sense it remains a contested term (Room, 1995; Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud, 2002; Levitas et al., 2007). The primary intent of social inclusion is to overcome social exclusion, which refers to an individual or group who are excluded from either, or a combination of; wealth, income, employment, education, political representation and social or emotional support (Roberts, 2009).

In *The Multi-dimensional Analysis of Social Exclusion*, Levitas et al. (2007: 9)

describe social exclusion as:

“...a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole.”

The effects of social exclusion tend to be most acutely felt amongst society's most vulnerable groups: the young, old, those from ethnic minorities, disabled and low income, and the unemployed or homeless (Malcolm, 2008). As understood by Sen's capability approach, social exclusion denies the development of capabilities and takes away personal freedoms. Social *inclusion* attempts to overcome this infringement of personal freedoms and in doing so the notions of inclusion, along with that of equality are implicit within Sen's approach. Just as capabilities makes assumptions about quality of life, so too social inclusion has shifted the social debate from income to multi-dimensional disadvantage; from state to process; and from a focus on individual or household to local community (Room, 1995). A result of this paradigm shift was that it began to make crucial connections between the related yet quite distinct areas of poverty, inclusion and inequality which are explained and expanded upon in more detail in the next chapter.

Although not explicitly stated, these changes and interconnections align the social debate far more closely to Sen's (1999) multi-dimensional capability approach. There is one marked difference: the notion of a community centred approach promoted through social inclusion agenda's is the clear dichotomy of Sen's

individually focussed capability approach. Indeed it has been argued that Sen's "classic liberal exaltation of the individual" needs further expansion (Evans, 2002:56). It is contended in this thesis that, rather than be interpreted as neo-liberalism or as a negative feature of the capability approach, Sen's individual focus can alternatively be viewed in a more positive way, whereby the individualism highlights the unique and very personal potential and nature of the development of capabilities.

Capabilities are rooted in personal taste, desire and ambition and enable each and every individual to be accounted for, embraced and have the opportunity to develop to their maximum potential. Eschewing the capitalist, neo-liberal account of Sen's individualism offered by Evans (2002), enables the approach to transcend the economic to turn towards capability and individual freedom as a multi-disciplinary approach to significant global social problems. In doing so, this thesis does not ascribe to a polarised individual – community debate but rather believes that in the capability approach both may be progressed without compromise to either.

To return to social inclusion and sport, issues linked to exclusion are now commonly addressed through sport (Houlihan, 1997; Coaffee and Shaw, 2003; Coalter, 2007; Green, 2006; Malcolm, 2008), where benefits are recognised to extend beyond direct sports participation, to fans and inclusion of marginalised groups (Southby, 2013), to promote global diversity (UN, 2013), and to assimilate refugees (Ha and Lyras, 2013). This debate has not been unproblematic, with many remaining agnostic to the ability of sport to optimally achieve social outcomes (Coalter, 2007) and an expanding body of research is critical of the ability of sport to overcome social exclusion and promote social inclusion and integration (Long and Sanderson, 2001;

Kay, 2009; Velija, 2009, Nathan et al, 2010; Vandermeersch, Vos and Scheerder, 2013; Osterlund and Seippel, 2013).

The only unequivocal role sport seems to play in social inclusion may be its ability to bridge communities through removing barriers to participation and ensuring that there are opportunities for everyone to participate (Coalter, Allison and Taylor, 2000), although Long and Sanderson (2001) conclude that the community benefits provided by sport are rarely substantiated. Clearly then there is a need for much more research if the benefits of sport to society are to become more than theoretical aspiration (Bailey, 2005), and whilst researchers such as Coalter (2007) highlight the difficulties in attributing benefits directly to sport and suggest the need for quantification, others such as Kay (2009) suggest the need to move beyond limited positivist accounts and engage in the real sociological issues particular to the research environment.

3.4 Sport for Development

There exists a developing body of research examining the inter-play between sport and development, some of which has grown out of the field of international relations and some of which has grown out a more conventional sports development literature. The research into sport for development and peace (SDP) has recently been reviewed by a number of authors (Levermore, 2008; Kidd, 2008; Kay, 2009; Darnell, 2012) and adds to what Coalter (2010) refers to as sport plus and/or plus sport interventions that were mentioned earlier. At this juncture it is necessary therefore to explore in more detail the ways in which the SDP movement impacts upon societies across the globe: just exactly how sport is being used to create social change and what the outcomes of these projects are.

International governments have used sport programmes as a means of striving to meet social, educational and health goals associated with the 2015 MDG's (Kirwin and Akindles, 2007; Kay and Duffield, 2013). This has led to sport becoming embedded in the work of key international agencies including: the United Nations (UN), the World Bank, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Health Organisation (WHO), where it operates within policy domains such as youth, health, education, gender, diversity and peace-building (Kay and Duffield, 2013) and is part of the UN's 17 SDG's aimed at ending poverty, hunger, exclusion and inequality by 2030 (UN, 2015). Operationally this translates to the utilisation of sport as an international development tool, used to resolve conflicts and develop intercultural understanding; to build physical, social and community infrastructure; to support capacity building, ameliorate inequality and poverty, empower marginalised groups through education; and impacting on physical and psychological health and well-being (Levermore, 2008; Levermore and Beacon, 2009).

SDP encompasses the growing number of NGO's, governments, academic institutions and NSOs that use sport to assist with development (e.g. Olympic Solidarity), humanitarian relief (e.g. Right to Play), post-war reconciliation (e.g. playing for peace) and social education and personal development (e.g. kicking AIDS out). Within these contexts sport is utilised because of its popular appeal and therefore it has the ability to reach communities in a way that more traditional development tools such as trade and investment may fail (Levermore, 2008), since by comparison it is seen as a low-cost, high-impact tool. Sport as social integration and economic development can be used to strengthen social ties and networks and promote ideas of peace, fraternity, solidarity, non-violence, tolerance and justice

(UN, 2014). If sport is an effective way through which to build social capital as researchers like Sherry (2010) suggest, then the place of sport within SDP projects will only continue to be strengthened.

The Mathare Youth Sport Association (MYSA) is an example of an early SDP initiative which has gained global attention. Beginning in 1987 after environmental advisor to the UN, Bob Munro, saw children playing football on the streets of the Mathare slum on the outskirts of Nairobi using a ball made from street litter (MYSA, 2014). Harnessing their enthusiasm, Munro offered to referee a game if they helped pick up litter and since then MYSA has grown into one of the biggest and more widely acclaimed projects which harness the power of sport for the purposes of development and broader social aims and touches the lives of its 25,000 members and beyond (MYSA, 2014b). In honouring MYSA at its first awards ceremony in 2000 The Laureus Foundation, whose mission is to use the power of sport to tackle the world's most devastating social challenges (Laureus Foundation, 2014), recognised the incredible success of MYSA.

Since then the number of SDP projects has increased exponentially. Kidd (2008) traces this growth to two significant events, both led by the United Nations. Firstly, in 2003 the UN passed resolution 58/5 entitled "*Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace*" which called for various stakeholders to promote sport and physical education as part of development programs and policies. This led to a second key intervention when the UN proclaimed 2005 as the International Year of Sport and Physical Education. In 2004 United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan discussed the potential of sport to facilitate social change around the world and transcend cultural differences while highlighting its

compatibility with a mandate of international development based on human rights (Kidd, 2008; Darnell, 2012). These developments saw the use of sport in international aid and development formalised and since then sport has become prominent as a tool to help meet the MDG's where it works towards alleviating the multi-dimensional symptoms of poverty (Okada and Young, 2011), as well as in the UN's successor to the MDG's, the SDG's (UN, 2015).

Let us now also consider the use of sport in development in a more general sense. In order to understand sport within the field of development, it is important to be aware of the broader contextual background of international development and aid. Higgs (2013) charts its historical evolution by identifying five distinct policy phases in International development: (i) the slave trade which entailed the 'rape and pillage' of Global Southern nations by those in the North, (ii) a period of the Global North 'saving the souls and stealing resources' of the Southern nations, (iii) the building of capital infrastructure (by GN companies) whilst supporting (GS) depots, (iv) capacity development and increased evidence of International partnerships, and (v) the most recent era which focuses on trade and social entrepreneurship. Okada and Young (2011) note that the 1990s witnessed a significant paradigm shift in the development sector due to the coordinates of poverty reduction being re-written to become a critical global issue of concern to all governments, both from the GN and GS.

This rising global awareness and sense of collective responsibility, coupled with such a policy shift towards social enterprise as part of a solution to international development reflects the work of Sen (1999), who proposed that social and economic development is but one way by which to expand personal capabilities and assist the amelioration of global poverty. In the evolution of SDP projects to include social

enterprise, the fundamental principles of the Sen's (1999) capabilities approach are evident. Indeed, it is perhaps most evident in The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which is informed by Sen and his close associate Mahbub ul Haq. "People are the real wealth of a nation" stated the first Human Development report in 1990 (UNDP, 1990: 9). Human Development puts individuals at the centre of efforts and prioritised the expansion of choice and opportunity in each person's life as the ultimate goal of international development (Okada and Young, 2011).

The evolution of international development towards one of partnership and social enterprise also reflects the growing sense that we all inhabit a small planet and one in which we share all elements and aspects of life. Instigated by the paradigm shift rooted in Sen's philosophies, accelerated through the technological era and played out through increasing international trade and commerce, this feeling of a global community has important implications for the role of sport within our global society. Darnell (2012: 3) proposes that global citizenship "underpins the current mobilisation and institutionalisation of sport for Development and Peace".

Indeed this may be a theoretical framework which could provide a renewed impetus and further strengthen the role of sport as a social tool within aid, development and peace. It is tied closely to a renewed prioritisation of the need to uphold human rights, as evidenced in recent UN international policies (UN, 2015), reaching across disciplines and fields of endeavour to ensure the rights of each individual are paramount at all levels of work and in all societies. Vizard (2006) notes that development within Sen's framework becomes the expansion of capabilities to enjoy basic freedoms such as clean drinking water and nutrition, as well as health care, education and a home.

Darnell (2012) proposes that the idea of humans as citizens of the world, with global rights and responsibilities is an important one for sport to reflect on and act upon. In its global popularity, sport has the potential to help shape the sense of responsibility and Darnell (2012) suggests that sport as a form of aid and development relies more on the ways global citizenship is interpreted and acted upon by SDP stakeholders. Global citizenship builds upon the increased GN – GS partnerships that are apparent in and essential to, successful modern international aid and development and is central to the emerging idea of global interdependence. These partnerships bring together local knowledge of the culture and politics of the beneficiaries of intervention, whilst the international support mechanism brings access to alternative solutions, additional technical knowledge and advanced skills (Higgs, 2013).

The implication of this for sport is significant. It enables us to move away from the need to quantify, justify and clarify the role of sport that had begun to erode the perception of its ability to meet broader social objectives in the UK, as suggested by researchers such as Coalter (2007, 2010). Through an increased immersion within global citizenship and human rights, the role of sport and in particular global – local, or ‘glocal sport’, in meeting social aspects of society becomes stronger. Sport itself as a basic human right is increasingly applied to the development sectors and is evident in leading global policy bodies. *Building a Peaceful and Better World through Sport* was first recognised by the UN in 1993 and since then human rights are emphasised through the promotion of games and play for all people (Okada and Young, 2011). Within such a context it is thus possible to expand a possible list of freedoms to include that one should have access to sport. Participation has intrinsic value to the quality of life and doing something for other members of society is a freedom people value (Dreze and Sen, 1995:106). In this respect, sport must be

concerned with providing an arena for individuals and communities to discover and realise their potential through active involvement.

Examples of the use of sport in development are both plentiful and diverse. The use of sport as a form of humanitarian aid is championed by Peace and Sport who launched Sport Solidarity for Haiti in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake. The aim was to offer support for the Haitian Olympic Committee and use sport to support the recovery of young Haitians living in survivor camps. In Haiti, the power of sport was harnessed as a diversion to limit trauma and shock where it highlighted that sport can be a powerful tool in the aftermath of such disasters, helping to control issues such as violence and sexual abuse (Peace and Sport, 2010).

Similar work can also be found on a local level; in Glasgow the aid agency: Glasgow the Caring City, uses football in humanitarian efforts. Initially established in May 1999 to provide humanitarian relief to those made homeless by the wars raging across the Balkans, the agency has gone on to provide relief for disasters throughout the world ever since (Glasgow the Caring City, 2013). In a similar vein, Sport and Peace run programmes in war torn regions which are aimed at “promoting peaceful dialogue, healthy competition and ethical and moral education through sport” (Sport and Peace, 2013:1).

Of growing concern to the work of SDP is the increased number of displaced people. Ha and Lyras (2013) note the considerable increase in SDP programming which targets underprivileged youth in particular, but also a dearth of evidence which focuses on refugee youth. Given that there are now more than 59.5 million displaced people, including 19.5 million refugees (figures from end of 2014) (UN, 2015), this needs urgent attention. Displacement can occur via a number of pathways: as a result

of natural disasters such as drought or flooding; through civil conflict; searching for employment and changing global employment patterns; increased mobility throughout the world and as the UN (2015) suggest is increasingly the case: through war and persecution. Nathan et al (2010) suggest that refugees are particularly vulnerable to social isolation and disengagement that can fragment local communities and they propose sport as a tool through which social cohesion can be built.

Indeed, there exist an increasing number of examples demonstrating the power of sport to help in the inclusion of refugees, with Ha and Lyras (2013) suggesting SDP programmes can be utilised as a vehicle for refugee youth in acculturating into a host country. This is not straightforward since difficulties can emerge that are often associated with the re-location of refugee groups. Consider the example of the world-class Eritrean athletes who were granted asylum in Scotland and could have gone on to win medals for their adopted nation (Gillon, 2008). A lack of structural cohesion or pro-active sporting governance to support their cause led to disenchantment of both the athletes themselves and their local athletics club (Shettleston Harriers) who had been instrumental in their Scottish domestic successes (Gillon, 2013). Therefore even with sport as a common language and common goal, acculturation it seems, is never a straightforward issue.

There are wider issues too; while this opportunity afforded by their sporting talent is laudable in that it provides an escape from the conflict and poverty in which they are trapped, it highlights the need for a broader (multi-dimensional) and on-going support to help them, which Ha and Lyras (2013) illuminated as essential to successful re-settlement. Furthermore, it highlights one of the potential paradoxes of

intervention: the exodus of talent from Africa, whilst helping those immediately involved, happens at the expense of the future and longer term development of these nations, who need their brightest and best to help lead and drive their country forward (Kirwin and Akindes, 2007). This is indicative of a global inequality in sport where “oil-rich but talent-starved” countries or clubs intent on raising their profile, drain the talent of poorer nations or clubs (Njororai, 2010:7). For this reason, it might be suggested that local SDP interventions which operate in-situ are a far more effective way of working with the displaced, refugees or other disadvantaged populations.

Broader questions about SDP initiatives have also been raised. NGO’s have been criticised as exerting colonising influences (Darnell, 2007) and it has been suggested that the SDP agenda itself is becoming increasingly homogenised (Hayhurst, 2009) and is ‘under-theorised’ (Schnitzer et al, 2013). Chawansky (2011) contends there is a need to re-image gender relationships in sporting contexts to enhance SDP movement, while Coalter and Taylor (2010) emphasise the need for SDP programmes to be more clearly defined and articulated. Finally, and of increasing concern, is the actual impact of interventions, with such discussions tending to be inextricably tied to policy and funding (Kirwin and Akindes, 2007; Levermore, 2008; Coalter and Taylor, 2010).

Organisations like the UN, who view SDP as a way of contributing towards achieving its SDG’s, can place the emphasis on participation numbers rather than on any particular social goals and in doing so dilute both the value and quality of SDP programming (Coalter, 2010). Similar pressure is exerted on other NGO’s, with funding increasingly connected to external ‘outcome-based approaches’ (Coalter,

2009). A comprehensive analysis and critique of the SDP movement is offered by Coalter (2013) in *Sport for Development. What game are we playing?* In acknowledging that he is caught in an internal dialogue between the need for academic scepticism and the undoubted belief and enthusiasm of SDP practitioners, Coalter's (2013) account of the evolution and expansion of the use of sport within the field of international development provides one of the most complete records of the SDP movement to date and it warns of the need for a more considered approach towards it.

Parallel to such concerns is the growing sense that the long term impact of interventions need to be further substantiated (Kirwin and Akindles, 2007; Levermore, 2008, Coalter, 2007). This shift is concerning for the global movements advocating the use of sport for social change and one which this thesis addresses. In accentuating that increased political interest often results in the need for justification through further quantification, Coalter emphasises the problem this poses for sport where the ability to attribute broader social benefits *solely* to sport is difficult (Coalter, 2005; Coalter, 2013).

One of the reasons that the social benefits of sport are hard to establish lies in the vagueness and elusiveness of the concepts that are being used in social policies (Vermeulen and Verweel, 2009). Kay (2012) warns of greater dangers and advocates refocusing approaches to monitoring and evaluation to serve internal programme learning needs rather than external funders, suggesting that despite the rhetoric of 'partnership' that surrounds sport in development and Olympic legacy programmes, monitoring and evaluation systems play a major role in constructing the donor–recipient relationship as hierarchical, cumbersome, lacking in local knowledge and

undermining to the donor-recipient relationship. This suggests any shift towards outcome-based approaches needs careful consideration.

Furthermore, in terms of criticism Levermore (2008: 189) suggests the use of sport “should be considered in a more nuanced manner, and evaluated relative to other engines of development through a balanced appraisal of the potential value of sport in its contribution to the development process”. This thesis goes further; suggesting the need to re-frame the way in which we theorise and conceptualise sport. It contends that sport needs to be considered within the context of the development of capabilities and that through doing so will enable sport to avoid becoming entrenched in the need to solely quantify or compare but will instead recognise both individual and community developments through a positively framed common language: that of freedom.

The belief underpinning this thesis is that the value of sport is to contribute to the development of human capabilities. Attempting to define, re-define and/or qualify its value or directly compare it to other social initiatives or development engines is an inherently complex task that I suggest is both inadequate and unhelpful. As an alternative paradigm, by considering the personal and individual value of sport as a social tool, it veers away from any quest to offer justification through simply quantification. In conducting in-depth interviews and a broader programme analysis of one NGO involved in this area, this thesis will contribute towards the qualitative understanding of the social value of sport. In doing so it responds both to Gruneau’s (2015) call for further research which offers more depth and a greater level of critical reflectivity, and to Kay’s (2009) suggestion that research based on intimate and local qualitative analyses is needed to enable conclusions to be drawn on the meaning and

value to people. In its continual interplay between the theoretical and the contextual, this work is also mindful of Schnitzer et al's (2013) warning that efforts to develop a more robust theorisation of the roles of sport in development and peace-building must be thoroughly contextualised if they are to prove meaningful for researchers and practitioners alike.

Central to the emerging critique of SDP and indeed the wider use of sport in social policy, is the understanding that sport alone does not lead to social outcomes. Rather, effects accrue only under the right or sufficient conditions, with appropriate resources and with well-designed and directed programming which is contextually appropriate (Waring and Mason, 2010; Hartman and Kwauk; 2011, Okada and Young, 2011). Sport programming therefore must be combined with other disciplines in a multi-dimensional approach if broader developmental goals are to be achieved (Hartman and Kwauk, 2011; Jarvie, 2010), with Whitley, Wright and Gould (2013) suggesting, for example, better coach education in sport for development leaders would enable better outcomes.

Sport, according to Bouzou (2010), can only leave a sustainable legacy when it operates within a coordinated programme involving policy areas such as education, counselling and health promotion. For while sport can serve useful roles in development and peace building, it does not constitute a substitute for developing social norms and values that are conducive to building mutual tolerance and shared commitment to non-violent conflict management, and it is these which underpin any success sport may enjoy as an instrument of development for peace (Schnitzer et al, 2013).

Many of the criticisms presented relate to the fact that international development is itself a highly complex environment. In coming late into international development as enterprise, Black (2010) suggests sport has the opportunity to learn from previous mistakes. At the heart of this assertion is the need to understand and act upon the emerging critique of SDP in order to frame research in a progressive manner that will contribute positively to our understanding of this area.

The contribution this thesis makes is to challenge this emerging critique by suggesting a unifying way in which to understand the social benefits of sport, contending that by understanding sport as the expansion of capabilities, freedoms can be achieved. There need not be a tension between a capability approach and the assertion made by Coalter and Taylor (2010: viii) that: “Most sport-for-development programmes are underpinned by an assumption that young people from disadvantaged communities are themselves deficient and in need of ‘personal development’”. Indeed, this notion of a ‘deficit model’ is particularly important to acknowledge if for no other reason than to potentially destroy it as a myth. In rejecting a deficit model, this work contends that Sen’s capability approach offers a positive alternative to this and other similarly negative models, one in which “Development can be seen...as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy.” (Sen, 1999: 3) and implicit within this understanding is the assumption that sport has a role to play.

Prior to expanding upon the notion of sport as the development of capabilities and in concluding this, it might be helpful to draw together a number of significant strands of thinking that have informed this reflection upon sport for development: (i) that an emerging body of research and policy continues to harness the potential of sport to

act as a progressive tool and that this is constructed from different fields including international relations, sport studies and to a lesser extent the development literature, (ii) that a continuing tension exists between those who argue for the need to rethink SDP and those who call for the need for more evidence and logic before assuming that sport can act as a positive tool in development situations, (iii) that a number of specific critiques have been charged at initiatives such as SDP, sport plus and plus sport, and (iv) that a focus upon the work of Sen can facilitate an answer to many of these concerns but more importantly consider development in such a way that it is thought of in terms of winning positive freedoms for individuals through the development of their capabilities.

3.5 Sport as the Expansion of Capabilities

In believing that human potential can be harnessed, developed and expanded and that sport has a part to play in the development of capabilities is what is in part rooted in any study that draws upon Sen's capability approach. This goes beyond the basic (negative) assumptions underpinning the deficit model to offer an alternative that promotes the notion of individual freedoms rather than assuming the community or individual is deficient in any way. The assumption made within this paradigm is that it is in fact the creation of chances and opportunities for these individuals and communities which is often deficient. This is important not just for any SDP movement but any approach to sport plus or sport for development.

For GS nations it can be particularly useful as it diverts focus from cause, blame or judgement to focus on potential as an alternative. Many examples could be given to illustrate this point but Sen (1999) traces the roots of the Bengal famine of 1943 to a

lack of distribution, rather than a lack of food itself and the capability approach crucially infers problems of poverty and its associated ills are global problems requiring global solutions, but that individuals can still develop capabilities. Such solutions are rooted in the principles of inclusion, equality, community and a deep empathy for fellow humans and in the advancement of these qualities the capability approach has the ability to unite many of the contemporary accounts of SDP, sport plus and global development by inferring positivity rather than negativity.

Sen's work provides a driver to this thesis which grasps the potential role that sport has in the amelioration of homelessness and in the development of human potential. Throughout his work, Sen (1993; 1999; 2000; 2004) repeatedly argues for development to be seen in terms of the expansion of basic freedoms or human capabilities. In doing so, he recognises that increasing GDP is only a means to expand freedoms and capabilities, that is: economic growth and expansion of capabilities is an inter-dependent relationship (Sen, 2000).

Sport is recognised by the UN as a basic human right and the ways in which it contributes to holistic human development have become apparent within this chapter. In considering the expanding body of literature that studies the social value of sport it has become increasingly noticeable that sport has a role to play in removing barriers, expanding social capital and assisting with inclusion. The capability perspective, as related to development, is focussed on the expansion of capabilities (Vizard, 2006) and places human capabilities and potentially sport for development at the heart of the problematic. In essence this is about ensuring human well-being, which under Sen's paradigm is concerned with what people can be and do. Their freedom and

opportunity to choose functionings – states of being and doing – is their effective capability.

Despite Sen's lack of a definitive list of functionings, he does give 'social opportunities' as one example (1999). Yet one might feasibly ask: how precisely does sport improve opportunity? It can so in a multitude of ways: through ancillary benefits such as the example of Kenyan woman elite runners whose success brought broader economic and empowerment advantages to other women within their local village (Sikes and Jarvie, 2014); through its links to education in projects such as *bowling out aids* and through direct participation itself which for many is the most highly visible *raison d'être* for sport and crucially is central to a capability approach. It might seem simplistic to infer that participation in sport equates to participation in life, but not for Dreze and Sen (1995: 106), who saw:

“Participation also has intrinsic value for the quality of life. Indeed being able to do something not only for oneself but also for other members of the society is one of the elementary freedoms which people have reason to value. The popular appeal of many social movements in India confirms that this basic capability is highly valued even among people who lead very deprived lives in material terms.”

Sport it is argued in this thesis can be seen to provide social opportunities (functionings) in a *plus sport* and *sport plus* sense. In its ability to do so, sport may be thought of as a way by which freedoms can be increased; freedoms that move beyond simply ideas about well-being, to speak to notions of opportunity, possibility and equity. For this, and implicit within any ideal of freedom is the need for an open education system which will enable individuals to be capable of making ethically and morally appropriate choices.

Consider this within the context of North Korea: a country led by a brutal regime and one in which human rights violations continue to anger the international community. Recent years have seen North Korea's use of former NBA basketball star Denis Rodman in what has been labelled 'basketball diplomacy'. In BBC's Panorama 'Educating North Korea' (BBC, 2014) we see how, even in such a controlled and repressive society there is a feeling that through education, broader social change and individual freedoms may be achieved. A university paid for by the West to educate the North Korean elite is viewed through a prism of hope by the West: hope that through education and active engagement, social change can occur. 'inside here we have freedom' reports the President of the university and this sense of the need for education if freedom is to be achieved is significant to advancing our understanding of the ways in which sport can be most effectively 'applied' as a social tool.

The application of the capability approach has extended into many other fields, but to date there has been little consideration or application of the approach to sport. Sen himself did talk a little about cricket but has failed to expand the capability approach into the sporting field. Recently Sikes and Jarvie (2014) have considered running as a way of expanding the freedoms of African women and this growing interest in sport as the development of capabilities must be advanced by further research if the social roles of sport are to be fully understood. This thesis proposes understanding sport as capabilities and freedom may be central to consolidating the role of sport within a specific social agenda. It enables sport to occupy a space away from the ever increasing pressures exerted upon it to justify its effectiveness and purpose, towards situating itself as an essential part of human well-being and in doing so sport may well be able to find a more comfortable position within a social agenda.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter set out to delineate the social aspects and wider benefits of sport. It has become apparent that sport operates at many levels within societies; from creating national pride, to developing social capital, to social exclusion and much more. While reflectionist assumptions are never complex enough, sport can be a lens through which societal trends and values are reflected while also being a vehicle that has strived to bring about change both in sport and through sport. This chapter has highlighted the role that sport plays across a range of social issues and in particular initiatives related to social inclusion and international development. That sport is part of the fabric of our society, both in a local and global sense is unequivocal and this chapter has elucidated the various ways and levels at which it operates in society.

The social role of sport remains challenging and at times somewhat ambiguous, with the research highlighting its role in any social agenda subjected to an increasing pressure for justification and quantification (Coalter, 2007; Velija, 2009; Coalter, 2013). This thesis does not necessarily agree with the stance taken by Coalter, but proposes that by understanding sports based interventions from a capability perspective sport can overcome this debate and the continual need to validate its role. The social narrative explored in this chapter is important to this work, not least because notions of inequality are not only at the heart of sociology but also the capability approach (Holmwood, 2013).

In spite of the contentions, sport continues to be used to fulfil a variety of social purposes by leading global bodies such as the UN, who mobilise it in various forms through its operational arms including UNICEF and UNDP, to meet goals, most notably, the MDG's and SDG's. Within these and other social initiatives, it became

clear that sport is frequently linked to other interventions and in particular with education in order to optimise its outcomes as a social tool. The benefits appear to be “an indirect outcome of the context and social interaction that is possible in sport and through sport rather than a direct outcome of participating in sport per se” (SDPIWG, 2007: 4, in Osaka and Young, 2012; Waring and Mason, 2010). As such, sport needs to be part of a multi-faceted approach to improving inclusion, social capital and human capability. It needs to be utilized by society a or b through a purposeful and systematic methodology that fits the context and situation in which sport or the specific social problem is located. Chamberlain (2013) warns that sports based interventions can become overly reductionist and mask broader structural class, gender and race-based inequalities that permeate through neoliberal nation-states but forgets to reflect upon what needs to be done. Further research which examines the ways in which sport impacts upon societies is certainly required in order to draw upon more nuanced or appropriate methodologies. In particular, there needs to be studies which consider the role sport can play in ameliorating poverty and homelessness since within the current body of literature there remains a scarcity of attention or focus upon the role of sport in ameliorating or influencing rates of poverty and homelessness. This thesis will make a small contribution to this dearth by considering the direct role and value of sport in ameliorating and alleviating poverty and the effects of poverty, including homelessness.

Furthermore, by considering the role of sport in society within the framework of Sen’s capability approach, it is proposed here that the position of sport as a social tool is further strengthened because of its potential to increase capabilities within the physical, psychological, emotional and spiritual human domain. Within this chapter, sport has been recognised as an engine of social change, as a facilitator of change, as

a product or even by-product of change and as an intrinsic part of social and cultural mix that is part of any society. It is suggested that even the smallest affirmative contribution that sport can make to positive societal change needs to be recognised while acknowledging that sport is not the solution in and of itself. By considering it within a capabilities perspective rather than any deficit model, sport has a stronger position for inclusion in multi-disciplinary social solutions than that suggested by researchers such as Coalter. A positively framed approach to societal development certainly needs to be evidence based but in and of its self it needs little quantitative justification. It should not be forgotten that it is the continual interplay between its simplicity and its complexity that the social value of sport may be best understood.

Having reflected upon the social aspects of sport, the next chapter moves on to look at how researchers have considered the notion of poverty and how we might rethink the contribution that sport has to make.

Chapter 4

Poverty, Capability and Sport

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to lay out the theoretical framework around the traditional and contemporary ways poverty has been considered. The chapter is organised around: (i) perspectives of poverty in its broad-spectrum sense, (ii) poverty and capability and the role Armayta Sen's approach has played in the poverty debate, and (iii) poverty and sport, which considers how sport has been considered in relation to poverty within the literature to date. In doing so, this chapter will set forth the terrain for the later research and discussion which considers sport as the expansion of capabilities. Whilst the dialogue around poverty and sport within this chapter is both comprehensive and lengthy, by contrast it would be inadequate to suggest this is an extensive review of the existing poverty literature rather it is a précis of some of the dominant factors and ways of thinking about poverty.

4.2 Perspectives on Poverty

Poverty is of economic, social, philosophical, moral and ethical concern and in this section some of the ways in which these schools of thought impact on poverty are considered. Beginning by covering some of the traditional discourse, discussions quickly advance to looking at causes and solutions as well as definitions and measurements and the contemporary advancement of poverty in global terms.

Poverty discussions are highly contested in both a normative and substantive sense, not least because of the depth and magnitude of global poverty (Alcock, 1997; Lister, 2004; Hirsch, 2004). It is contested, multi-dimensional (Akindola, 2009; Alkire, 2012) embedded in, and shaped by, a wide range of socio-economic and geo-political

factors which influence what it means and how it is tackled within different communities (Jarvie, 2008). There is thus no single notion of poverty (Pacione, 2001; Lister, 2004: 3) as it is conceptualised and defined in varied and diverse ways (Lister, 2004; Hirsch, 2004). This creates significant problems in how it is defined and measured and the actions taken to ameliorate it, since what it means to be poor in the Global North (GN) is vastly different to the Global South (GS) and indeed even in a more local sense it can mean different things to different people within the same circumstance.

A raft of research indicates poorer people tend to die younger (Yang et al, 2014; Fitzpatrick, 2013), experience poorer health while alive (Horgan, 2011), have inferior access to education and are less likely of achieving success through education (McKinney, 2014; Sasmal and Guillen, 2015). Children who live in poverty do less well in literacy (Kellett, 2009), have their life chances and social mobility adversely affected throughout life (Hirsch, 2009) and poverty, even if only experienced for a short term period, hampers their development (Donnelly, 2000; McKinney, 2014).

Poverty is powerlessness and a lack of freedom (Narayan, 2000) and for many, it is a vicious cycle in which they are trapped as those born into poverty are far more likely to experience it either continuously or periodically throughout their lives (Kelly, 2011:128). Income is a consistent predictor of measures of isolation and of an individual's sense of belonging to the community (Stewart et al, 2009). Indeed, poverty creates increasing competition which depletes social and human capital; where once there was 'communitarism', there becomes hostility, conflict and disaster through the neo-liberal individualism it creates (Jarvie, 2008; Braithwaite, Dasandi

and Hudson, 2014). This negative association between poverty and universalism is now widely supported (Korpi and Palme, 1998; Brady and Bostic, 2015).

Viet-Wilson (1998) identified seven distinct ways of thinking about poverty: (i) as behaviour, (ii) as inequality, (iii) as social exclusion, (iv) as distribution of resources, (v) as a legal status, (vi) as low income, and (vii) as what economists say it is. More recently, The One Organisation (2013:1) recognised 11 factors directly connected to poverty:

“HIV/Aids and other infectious diseases. Approximately 9,000 people a day dies form HIV/Aids, TB and Malaria. Nearly 2/3 of these people live in sub-Saharan Africa.

Maternal and Child health – Mothers giving birth in poorest countries are at risk and millions of children die each year from treatable, preventable diseases such as diarrhoea.

Agriculture – Growth in agriculture is twice as effective in reducing poverty as growth in other sectors.

Open development is about people having the information and resources they need to hold their governments accountable and to make informed decisions to improve their lives.

Education – 61 million children not in school around the world, and 95% of them are from developing countries.

Energy Poverty – nearly 1/3 of humanity has insufficient access to electricity and modern energy resources and this limits many aspects of development and poverty reduction.

Development assistance – plays a vital role in the fight against poverty and disease.

Water and sanitation – 780 million people across the world do not have access to clean water and 2.5 billion do not have access to sanitation. These are basic human needs and improved standards would directly affect health.

Debt cancellation – poor countries often spend more paying off debt than they do on their education or health and are stuck in a vicious cycle of debt repayment.

Trade and investment – which creates economic growth and opportunities.

Climate and development – many of the world’s poor live in areas like Bangladesh, which if global warming causes water levels to rise, will have continued and prolonged flooding.”

This is a useful taxonomy not only in that it highlights its heterogeneous and multifaceted nature, but also in that it conveys some of the ways in which poverty is felt. This multidimensionality is well illustrated by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon (2011:1):

“A catastrophic combination of conflict, high food prices and drought has left more than 11 million people in desperate need. Even as we respond to this immediate crisis we need to deal with the underlying causes. We need to focus on practical measures – drought-resistance seeds, irrigation, rural infrastructure, livestock programmes; improvements in early warning systems.”

Indeed poverty is now understood as being both caused and solved by the confluence of a multitude of factors and these are now explored.

4.2.1 Causes and Solutions

Despite the growing awareness of its multi-dimensionality, much of the traditional discourse has variously polarised or marginalised poverty as cultural (Lewis, 1959; Harkness, Gregg and Macmillan, 2012), or structural or individual or behavioural (Vizard, 2006), or fatalistic (Niemela, 2008). Poverty in the GN has been considered in relation to family structure (Harkness, Gregg and Macmillan, 2012), gender (Kim and Watts, 2005; Ostlin, Sen and George, 2004), ethnicity (Platt, 2007), health (Bambra et al, 2010; Gunasekara et al, 2012), employment status (Islam, 2004; Gutierrez, Orecchia and Serneels, 2009), and education levels (Ainsworth and Filmer, 2006). The causes and solutions attributed to poverty reflect how it is

viewed, for example, those entrenched in understanding poverty as a cultural phenomenon argue it is caused by a culture of welfare dependency and family disintegration (Murray, 1984). In highlighting the dangers of polarising poverty in such a way more recent evidence suggests that welfare dependency as an explanation for family breakdown does not fit with the facts and solutions must ensure that the structural causes are also addressed (Harkness, Gregg and Macmillan, 2012).

Yet dichotomies dominate this debate. Of all the ways of thinking about poverty, it is the contrast between the GN and GS which is starkest. Traditional thinking attributes poverty in the GN to labour shifts in the emerging global economy while rapid urbanisation and labour migration has contributed to its growth in the GS (Susser, 1996). However, this is both simplistic and outdated and in truth it is more likely to be created and continually redefined by the subtle interplay between a host of mitigating factors as well as the socio-political zeitgeist. Whilst poverty is widespread, persistent and growing in the GN it is in the Global South where the most extreme cases tend to be found. These are likely to be caused by acute factors such as warfare, agricultural cycles, droughts and flooding and natural disasters or chronic causes such as colonial histories, centralisation of power, corruption, environmental degradation and social inequality (Rigg, 2006, Hill et al, 2007). As the growing problem of displaced people highlighted in the previous chapter conveys, violent conflict is one of the biggest drivers of poverty in the GS (Justino, 2011; Braithwaite, Dasandi and Hudson, 2014) and the World Bank estimate that some 1.2 billion people live in countries affected by fragility (World Bank, 2015).

The causes of poverty then are many and varied. Such multi-dimensional problems need multi-dimensional solutions which consider not simply addressing the effects of poverty; rather they need to look at how poverty can be eradicated from the global lexicon once and for all (Ferguson, 2007). The most significant statement of global intent to ending poverty were articulated through the UN's MDG's(2000-2015) and their more recent SDG's which target ending poverty by 2030 (UN, 2015). These goals reflect the extreme condition of poverty whereby they focus on: eradicating hunger; achieving universal primary education; promoting gender equality; reducing child mortality; improving maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; ensuring environmental sustainability and creating global partnerships for development (UN, 2000) and the MDG's were lauded as "the most successful global anti-poverty push in history" (Ki-moon, 2013: 3).

Yet, although the UN reported progress across all areas, it was slow. Figures highlight that 13 years after the MDG's were implemented, poverty levels in many countries were still only able to be estimated, and that 1 in 8 of the world's population still go to bed hungry each night (UN, 2013). By 2015 the UN acknowledged that "Despite many successes, the poorest and most vulnerable people are being left behind." (UN, 2015: 8). As a result, 2015 saw the implementation of a new set of goals: the SDG's. This is not to say the MDG's are ill conceived or ineffective, rather it serves to highlight the lack of global consensus, effort and commitment to the goals and the broader dilemma of how to end this persistent social problem. Building on the lessons and progress made since 2000, the SDG's offers new hope to the world poor and excluded. This articulation of sustainability by the UN is significant since sustainability is critical to solutions (Chzhen and Bradshaw, 2012), even in the Global North where poverty is perceived as a temporal

problem, evidence suggests that a quarter of social assistance claimants do so for at least 5 years (Snel, Reelick, and Groenenboom, 2013). Sustainable solutions to poverty in the GS tend to be influenced by at least three major factors; governance, aid and trade (Booth, 2005), with the interplay between these critical to their efficacy. As the global failure to achieve the MDG's demonstrate, solutions are not straightforward. For instance, whilst medical aid or the provision of essential resources such as water wells are sustainable solutions, food aid which is often part of the GN solution to GS poverty, produces the opposite effect and there exists evidence that it actually contributes to and perpetuates poverty by undercutting local farmers (Pederson, 2012). Lister (2004) talks of the 'haves' controlling the 'have not's' and in recent decades the more powerful nations have used aid as a policy tool for dominance rather than a form of real aid (Shah, 2014).

In doing so they highlight the role of corruption in perpetuating poverty and as a barrier to effective solutions at all levels of the donor-recipient relationship. This was emphasised by former Pakistani cricketer turned politician, Imran Khan, who urged the UK to cut aid to Pakistan asserting that it actually fuelled corruption (Khan, 2011).

The GS example of Brazil has been lauded for its solutions to poverty, where figures for both poverty and inequality significantly decreased at the start of this millennium and 12 million people were lifted out of absolute poverty (Hailu and Soares, 2009). Although its socio-economic position may have more recently changed, Brazil's progress is notable as it achieved this through a multi-dimensional approach involving welfare, education, health support and policies changes which led to the introduction of its cash transfer programme: *Bolsa Familia* which translates to English as 'Family Grant' (Mourao and Macedo de Jesus, 2011) and which supports

more than one third of children to go to school (Sanchez-Ancochea and Mattei, 2011). Brazil's success highlights the role of welfare and social transfers as a core part of the poverty solution. Indeed, there is increasing evidence that social benefits drastically reduce poverty (Chzhen and Bradshaw, 2012).

Contrast this Brazilian example to that of India where economic growth occurred without concurrent social concern and the narrative becomes clearer. Dreze and Sen (2013) note that India has failed to develop social services in parallel with economic development, contrasting India with the Asian approach which simultaneously pursues economic growth with human development. Through better public and social services which enhance general health and well-being and improve individual's capabilities, long term economic growth is also achieved. In these diverse examples, poverty is understood not as cultural or structural but in fact it is both and it is multi-dimensional.

The value of understanding this diversity in poverty perspectives lies in its political nature which is executed through the definitions applied and measurements parameters. These are now considered.

4.2.2 Definitions and Measurements

Poverty is a political phenomenon in the sense that power relations determine the distribution of opportunities and there is a growing body of research which highlights the role of power and equality in creating, exacerbating and perpetuating global poverty (Browne, 1999; Lister, 2004: 5; Vizard, 2006). That policy matters and profoundly influences poverty is evidenced in two striking pieces of evidence: (i) the fact that poverty in a devolved Scotland has fallen more than in the rest of the UK during the last decade (2003-13), with Scottish poverty now 7% lower than the rest

of GB, where a decade ago it was 1% higher (JRF, 2013), and (ii) that poverty still exists despite the fact it actually costs more to sustain than to solve, with Hirsch (2009) reporting child poverty in the UK costs the Treasury approximately £25 billion a year, yet it would cost only £4 billion a year to meet the government's 2010 pledge of halving it.

The way in which policy and power exert their influence on poverty is through definitions and measurements (Lister, 2004). Yet their usefulness is entirely dependent on the extent to which they can capture a wide range of symptoms, causes, and catalysts (Cummings, 2009). Poverty has been broadly defined as differences between poor and non-poor or what is required not to be poor (Howard et al, 2001), with the most common delineations given as either absolute or relative figures. Absolute figures are primarily concerned with not having enough money to purchase the basic and essential goods, resources and services necessary for survival (Alcock, 1997; Lister, 2004). These are prescriptive in that they have no consideration of social need, yet they remain prolific and are highly visible in global attempts to eradicate poverty, including the MDG's.

In contrast, relative accounts of poverty move beyond this absolute or essential core, to consider factors such as homelessness and exclusion and because of this it has also been referred to as 'overall poverty' (UN, 1995). Relative figures measure distance from the community norm across a range of standard of living indicators and because of this, they have also been referred to as the 'deprivation approach' (Townsend, 1979).

Measuring relative poverty can be done in a multitude of ways, the simplest of which is to count how many people fall below an income line calculated as a percentage of

the norm and relative measurements are readily accepted within the UK (Hirsch, 2004: 50). The World Bank adopted a dollar a day as the arbitrary (relative) poverty line in 1990 which remains in use to this day (Mestrum, 2012). Yet, as Parsons (2008: 1) highlighted, in increasing the \$1, firstly to \$1.08, and then in 2008 to \$1.25, the significant frailties in this arbitrary measure were exposed:

“An economic catastrophe occurred on August 26th 2008 that was quickly forgotten across the media: an extra 430 million people were classified overnight as absolutely poor. The cause was no tsunami or natural disaster, but simply the revisions of World Bank statisticians who adjusted the international poverty line from \$1.08 to \$1.25 a day. ”

One way in which the deficiencies of both absolute and relative approaches have been overcome is by using the ‘Gini coefficient’ which provides a quantification of inequality. It is notoriously complex to calculate (Hirsch, 2004; Lister, 2004), but more problematic is that inequality is only one *aspect* of poverty so measures of inequality are limited, as are other alternatives such as the asset based approach, which has been used to understand poverty in India (Dutta and Kumar, 2013), but which fails to adequately describe the extent to which income can translate into utility or political limitations such as the effects of incomplete markets (Alkire and Foster, 2009). A problem aside, clearly the ways in which poverty is defined and measured have progressed significantly and there now exists widespread recognition of the need to move beyond one-dimensional perspectives to consider poverty as a multi-dimensional phenomenon which Haughton and Khandker (2009:2) highlight:

“...arises when people lack key capabilities, and so have inadequate incomes or education, or poor health, or insecurity, or low self-confidence, or a sense of powerlessness, or the absence of rights such as freedom of speech.”

Such an understanding is critical to this thesis and is explored in more detail later in this chapter. Before doing so it is firstly necessary to consider some of the factors which inform discussions on its multi-faceted nature. These are deliberated in the next 2 sections which consider: (i) poverty, exclusion, deprivation, inequality and, (ii) poverty as human rights.

4.2.3 Poverty, Exclusion, Deprivation and Inequality

Poverty discussions have frequently overlapped with those on exclusion, deprivation and inequality. Alcock (1997) suggests however that these, along with homelessness may be cumulatively known as poverty and each in isolation is merely a symptom or manifestation of it. It would be inadequate of this thesis to pigeonhole each or talk of them interchangeably and so at this point it is useful to clearly delineate both the distinction and interplay between each in order to understand how collectively they are poverty.

All are relative: they mean different things to different people and to different nations, that is: they are geo-politically and socio-economically influenced and as such precise definitions are only really relevant to the environment to which they speak. Thus contextual understanding is imperative to this thesis and discussions herein.

Deprivation in the UK is, “the consequence of a lack of income and other resources” (PSE, 2013). Where deprivation talks to physical resources, exclusion talks to opportunity. It is a structural, dynamic, multifactor and multidimensional phenomenon (Goma and Subirats, 2005). Although it is possible to be ‘poor’ without being social excluded (Saraceno, 2001), inclusion is concerned with equality of

condition and opportunity (Fairclough, 2000; Donnelly, 2000; Levitas, 2005) and in doing so connections to Sen's approach are strongly apparent in this discourse.

Equality then connects these constituents together and is similarly multi-dimensional in nature, involving both social as well as physical resources. Jarvie (2012) suggests new forms of inequality have emerged: inequality of condition; of opportunity and of capability and indeed broader academic interest in the role of equality is growing, with philosophers like Gilabert (2012: 2) exploring the importance of promoting equality to end global poverty:

“The fact that approximately 50,000 human beings (most of them children) die each day due to poverty-related causes when this could be prevented at moderate cost to the wealthiest individuals and nations in the world is one of the greatest moral scandals of our time.”

The relationship between poverty and inequality is complex. That inequality exists does not necessarily mean there must be poverty as all societies have inequality to some extent (Hirsch, 2004). This is illustrated in a recent comparative study of immigrants in Sweden who, despite higher levels of inequality, lived at lower levels of poverty than those in other (poorer) countries (Kesler, 2015). Poverty then may be more correctly thought of as the unacceptable extreme of inequality; it focuses on those at the bottom of society, while inequality reflects the distribution of resources across the whole society (Lister, 2004:7).

In highlighting poverty as exclusion and inequality and multiple deprivations, there is a growing sense within contemporary thinking of poverty as an infringement of human rights (Cobbinah, Black and Thwaites, 2013). This is portrayed across

academic fields by the likes of Jarvie (2012) and Gilabert (2012) and it is therefore important at this point to turn attention towards poverty as human rights.

4.2.4 Poverty as a Violation of Human Rights

The human rights approach to poverty is pluralist and multi-dimensional, placing the poor and non poor in a partnership grounded in respect (Vizard, 2006). Through this prism ameliorative measures to tackle global poverty have enjoyed renewed vigour and this section will explore some of the thought influencing poverty as human rights and the global egalitarianism implicit within which has important ramifications for the way in which sport may fit within broader social objectives and to understanding this as the expansion of capabilities.

Lister (2004) suggests increasing globalisation is central to understanding poverty as human rights and has led to poverty becoming something which affects everyone. Traditional language like ‘third world’ has slowly been replaced with the new terminology of ‘Global North’ and ‘Global South’ which better illustrate the rapid technological and economic development of nations like India, where many have mobile telephones despite not having their own lavatory (Denze and Sen, 2013) and most recently, whilst the UN’s SDG’s still recognise developing areas (UN, 2015), globalisation has led to recognition of the interdependency between all regions.

At the heart of globalisation are issues of distribution and re-distribution of resources since in the most basic of senses, there is enough for everyone on our planet and by simply looking at how resources are managed, distributed and re-distributed there is

an opportunity to end global poverty (Gilabert, 2012). This is illustrated eloquently by The One Organisation (2012:1):

“It continues to be a scandal that despite African countries receiving \$1.5 trillion from natural resources in the past 5 years, some of the most resource-rich countries continue to suffer from insecurity and high levels of poverty. In Equatorial Guinea, for example, 1 in 12 children die before reaching their first birthday yet by some indicators they are wealthier per capita than France.

For this reason tax credits play an increasing role in the amelioration in poverty in the UK (Oxfam, 2012; Krueger, 2012) but in order to be effective, re-distribution needs other factors too, such as improvements in market income (Hirsch, 2004:52) and employment (Harkness, Gregg and Macmillan, 2012). Sen (2013) notes the importance of employment in particular: “How can anyone believe austerity with high levels of unemployment is intelligent policy for the UK?” (Bunting, 2013).

Employment alone is not enough and within a capability led solution, *types* of employment available are also important. Over a century and a half ago, Karl Marx promoted a view on freedom which highlighted that factory work exhausted individuals to such an extent that their freedom was confiscated (Marx, 1867: 398) and in doing so reminds of the limitations of some types of employment as a solution to poverty within the context of human rights and human development approaches.

Just as with other aspects of the poverty debate, discussions on globalisation are not straightforward. Whilst increasing global interconnectedness should mean an increasing awareness amongst our global community that over 1 billion people continue to live in extreme poverty (Hulme, 2010), the reality is very different. In its neo-liberalism, globalisation may be unhelpful to ending poverty as it undercuts local

economies, drives local farmers and villages off their land and creates the migration of labour fuelling modern poverty (Clarke, 2003; Kiely, 2005).

Corruption prevents fair re-distribution of resources, with Sen highlighting that famines are caused not by a lack of food, but by the way the social structures distribute it (1981: 24) and re-distribution also has significant cultural impacts: producing homogenous consumer habits in which the developing nations lose power of their cultural desires and in doing so are denied the opportunity of choice through market forces dictating valued options (capabilities) which in turn creates an 'unfreedom' for these people (Evans, 2002). A human rights perspective of poverty begins to illuminate and prioritise such issues and if sport is to be part of solutions, it must acknowledge that it is not immune to this and in many respects illustrates the transformation of consumer expectations driven by capitalism, with the transformation of sport as a social institution rapidly evolving from an ethos of asceticism to one of consumerist narcissism in less than three decades (Streeck, 2012). Yet it is capitalist economies which drive the leading group (G20) of economic powers and lead global society in much of the policy and direction. Reflecting what Perkins (2004) calls the global north subjugating the global south through debt, with the World Bank and the IMF the emperors of the first truly global empire.

Understanding globalisation and poverty as human rights is important to this thesis which proposes that it is within this discourse that there exists an entry point for sport. By sport I mean sport in its 'purest sense', where the moral, team, and associational values attached to sporting endeavour are upheld and promoted. Such sport may be a useful way to overcome poverty. If it is to do so, the increasing globalisation of sport demands the moral imperative for scholars and indeed sport

itself to wrest back the sports arena from neo-liberalism and recognise its values around a different set of co-ordinates grounded in a sense of social community and human rights. Sport's entry into the poverty debate will be discussed shortly, however first let us consider Sen's influence in the poverty discourse since, in its broad application, it is his capabilities narrative which unites and permeates throughout this work.

4.3 Poverty and Capability: Poverty as a Multi-dimensional Phenomenon

Earlier this chapter explored the evolution in the poverty discourse, from absolute to relative, and to more recent multi-dimensional ways of thinking about it. Deprivation, inequality, exclusion as well as homelessness, which is explored in the next chapter, were highlighted as important constituent phenomenon to considering poverty. In doing so its multidimensional aspects are emphasised, the benefits of which are clearly exemplified when contrasting it with a one-dimensional approach: if poverty is defined as living on USD1.25 or less a day, about 40% of Ethiopians and Uzbekistanis are considered poor, but if multidimensional measures that capture living standards are applied, almost 90% of Ethiopians live in poverty, while only a small percentage of Uzbekistanis do (Morrell, 2011).

Recent decades have witnessed the growth in applications of multidimensional measures both in the UK and internationally. In the UK, where much of the effort has been focussed on child poverty, new measures were implemented in 2013 which moved away from the existing focus on an arbitrary poverty line to attempt to understand the real problems they faced (DWP, 2013). Meanwhile, on the

international stage Sen's philosophies have been at the forefront of the drive for multidimensional approaches and the principles of the capability approach now underpin many of the leading poverty indices, including the Human Development Index (Cummings, 2009).

Notions of capability are similarly evident in the UN Poverty Index which combines measures of life expectancy, literacy, long-term unemployment and relative income into a single composite measure, and the UNICEF Report Card on child Well-Being which combines indicators of maternal well-being, health and safety, educational well-being, relationships, behaviours, risk and subjective well-being (Marlier, 2007).

By 2010 this evolution towards multidimensional poverty led to the UN implementing its Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) which considers ten indicators in order to calculate poverty. Statistics highlight precisely why such an approach is needed: an estimated 1.7 billion people in the 109 countries covered by the MPI – a third of their population – live in multidimensional poverty – a number that exceeds the estimated 1.3 billion people in those countries who live on \$1.25 a day or less (UNHDR, 2013). Notably, although most of the bottom billion live in the poorer regions of South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, 9.5% of the bottom billion poor live in developed, upper-middle income countries (UN HDR, 2013), which further endorses both the global nature of poverty and the need for a multi-dimensional approach.

Multi-dimensional approaches such as the MPI or HDI are not without limitations, with Cummings (2009) noting the inadequacy of their reliance on the application of specific criteria that were not necessarily relevant to particular communities. Indeed Sen himself was opposed to the application of specific criteria which he regards as

the reduction of human well-being into a single index, but in creating the MPI was persuaded that it would enable a shift in focus away from simply economic factors (Fukuda-Parr, 2003).

In their adaptations of the capability approach into the field of justice, both Nussbaum and Rawls produced classifications of capabilities: Rawls (1971) by listing ‘primary goods’, while Nussbaum (2000) listed the ten central human capabilities introduced earlier in the research design chapter of this thesis. Although persuaded to do so for the MPI, by specifically omitting to produce a definitive list of capabilities for the capability approach, Sen (1999) enabled it to have wide ranging global application, allowing countries to adapt and personalise it to their environmental needs.

Limitations aside, there is compelling evidence that multi-dimensional measures of poverty can and do work (Crossley and Veit-Wilson, 2013) and the development of the MPI moves toward the widespread recognition of the need to understand the issues of the poor through ensuring their participation within the poverty discourse (Akindola, 2009; Bartlett, 2012). This contemporary thinking is reflected the UN (2001: 1) description of poverty as:

“...a human condition characterised by the sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights”

Much of this progress has its foundations in the capability approach developed by Sen (1983; 1999), who examined poverty comprehensively from both an economic and philosophical perspective. This, in addition to the fact Sen’s CA provides both

the theoretical and methodological inspiration for this thesis, demands the need to consider his approach to in more detail.

4.3.1 Amartya Sen's Capability Approach

“Poverty must be seen as the deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely the lowness of incomes”

(Sen, 1999: 87)

The strength of the capability approach is that in its focus is on the actual freedom people have to lead the life they value (Sen, 1999). Doing so extends it beyond other multi-dimensional approaches. At the heart of the approach is the belief that factors such as resources or goods, which have been central to traditional poverty measurements, are themselves not a true reflection of the sort of life a person is able to lead. Sen (1999, 2000) proposes that resource based evaluations do not explain an individual's well-being, since it is the ability of an individual to convert resources, goods and/or opportunities into something meaningful which is important (Sen, 1999: 285). Poverty is therefore understood as the deprivation of basic capabilities where capabilities are the substantive freedoms a person has to lead a life of personal value.

Resources thus become simply the *means* by which to achieve capabilities and precisely how an individual does this is based on three key factors: (i) their personal capacity, (ii) what they value in life, and (iii) the availability of both opportunity and choice. Thus the capability approach, by putting an individual's capability to be or do the things they value at the centre of a valuable life rather than simply making normative evaluations based on income and consumption, re-frame the way in which

poverty is understood (Vizard, 2006). This sensitivity to the individual ways in which poverty is experienced is particularly useful, especially in the context of work such as this as it accounts for personal abilities, needs, desires and circumstances. Indeed, the approach has come to be regarded the measurement of poverty which overcomes particular biases (Chattier, 2012) and in doing so the universality of its application is alluded to.

If poverty is defined in terms of capability, then wealth can be conceived correspondingly as a very extensive capability or functioning set (Alkire, 2008). Poverty reduction therefore occurs when a person could realistically choose to enjoy a greater set of valuable activities or ways of being (Alkire, 2002). Sen illustrates this by contrasting a nation's gross national product (GNP) and life expectancy: the expectation that high GNP per capita would signify a high standard of living is in fact this is not always the case: in India, 50% of the population, that is over 600 million people, do not have access to a toilet while in Bangladesh, its poorer neighbour, only 8% have to live with that indignity (Dreze and Sen, 2013).

Although some have warned of the danger of marginalising the role of income in poverty deprivation (Viet-Wilson, 2004), Sen recognises that low income plays a central role in poverty (1999: 87). Indeed in its individualistic nature, and perhaps influenced by Sen's own background in economics, the capability approach has been accused of neo-liberalism (Evans, 2002). There are other criticisms too: its methodological individualism (Robeyns, 2003, Cejudo, 2007, in Evangelista, 2010), as well as the way in which it places economic aspects of famine above socio-political determinants (Devereux, 2001). Viet-Wilson (2004) asserts that capabilities are shaped by social structuring and welfare institutions and in doing so highlights

the role of agency and structure, which in the capability approach become the opportunity aspect essential to freedoms. Indeed, in its breadth is the strength of the CA and Sen (1999) advocates political freedoms and civil rights not as a distant aspiration to be achieved through increased GDP, rather as a necessity since through freedom, growth will be created.

The capability approach has perhaps most notably been criticised as having a lack of concern with a ‘capability of voice’ (Zimmerman, 2006). However central to the approach is that poverty can never be adequately assessed without putting it into the context of a comprehensive ethical theory about the nature and function of societies (Graf and Schwieger, 2013). This suggests the need for contextually appropriate research, which this thesis acts upon, but furthermore it returns to the moral and ethical demands implicit within the poverty debate: poverty demands ameliorative action (Lister, 2004). Although it is not the purpose of this work to examine this in depth, this moral narrative is not ignored as I believe it is one of the entry points for sport into this dialogue and is as such a theme returned to later in this thesis.

It would be inadequate to conclude this examination of the capability approach without noting the reach of Sen’s influence over the past 50 years. Sen’s celebrated work underpins modern poverty discourse, global poverty indices and has influenced a paradigm shift beyond measurement towards global solutions in which the multi-dimensional aspects of poverty are accounted. In particular, the work of Sen has illuminated the role of inequality, whereby inequality is felt as both the distribution of wealth and of opportunity, and is at the core of the capability approach (Holmwood, 2013). This is central to the importance this thesis places on the concern for the homeless and vulnerable and the sense of need to re-dress inequalities as well as exclusion and multi-dimensional deprivations.

This chapter now progresses beyond considerations of poverty as a phenomenon and the ways of understanding, describing and considering it, to look specifically at poverty and sport, and capability, poverty and sport. In doing so it begins to address one of the main questions at the heart of this thesis, namely: the contribution sport makes to poverty and for this reason these sections are both extensive and comprehensive.

4.4 Poverty and Sport

Poverty and sport have been considered, connected and promoted in different ways both within the body of literature, and indeed within the social agenda. This section presents evidence of the ways in which they have been discussed to date.

Sport is increasingly promoted as a basic human right (Kidd and Donnelly, 2000; Bloodworth, McNamee and Bailey, 2012), yet it is one social element which suffers as a result of poverty. For example, poverty in the GS has led to unemployment and forced migration which have in turn “...disconnected large populations from their sporting facilities and outlets” (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2009: 63).

But sport can also be part of the solution and there is a sense within this thesis that it can help individuals, societies and potentially nations overcome poverty, and of the importance of finding, through sport, new ways to re-connect those living in poverty. Whilst it is widely recognised that sport has much to contribute to social problems (Kidd, 2008; Jarvie, 2007, 2010) not much research has looked into the specific ways in which sport can help ameliorate poverty. Part of the reason for this is, just as we

saw difficulties in attributing other social benefits solely to sport (Coalter, 2007, 2008, 2010), so too similar difficulties hamper the poverty and sport debate.

Although the extent to which sport can contribute to poverty solutions is somewhat ambiguous, there is increasing evidence that it can and does lead to many positive changes. This was explored in detail in chapter 3 of this thesis which highlighted that the role of sport in influencing broader social and political change is now well documented (Kidd and Donnelly, 2000; Jarvie, 2007; Maguire, 2014).

The sport system in the GN has traditionally been structured around two main disciplines: (i) sport development, which in its concern with growing sport and participation rates is by nature about inclusivity, and (ii) high performance sport, which is aligned more with a ‘professional’ or elite vision of sport and is by nature only for a few talented and driven enough to reach the highest performance levels.

Although both Kidd (2008) and Maguire (2006:107-108) have suggested that SDP has struggled to separate itself from elite sports development, the discussions which follow are structured around these two distinct branches of the sport system as it is apparent that both have potential as part of a solution to poverty. This is also an appropriate taxonomy and it is through this development – performance dichotomy that the majority of existing projects can be classified and in fact very few approaches synthesise the two.

One exception is United Through Sport South Africa (UTS SA), formally the Umzingisi Foundation, which delivers both sport participation through its mass participation programmes (MPP) and high performance through its school of sporting excellence (SSE) which uses a number of traditional sports like rugby, cricket, and hockey to empower youth and create communities that are self

sustainable in a social, institutional and economical sense (United Through Sport, 2013). This is something of an exception and so the discussions which follow will do so within the development – performance dichotomy and consider each in turn.

4.4.1 Sport for Development

Where sport development is concerned with growing sport, sport *for* development is concerned with growing development through mass participation in order to engage a large audience for broader sociological objectives, most frequently health and education (Darnell, 2011, 2012; Levermore, 2008, 2009, 2010). These were considered at length in chapter 3, but where it focused on the social outcomes, this chapter focuses on the ways sport is used as development to help contribute solutions to poverty.

Darnell (2012) notes there are now hundreds of SDP sites listed on the international platform for sport and development (Sport and Development, 2015). These encompass a diverse range of international organisations to meet this diverse range of social objectives, for example World at Play (World at Play, 2014) uses sport and play to help disadvantaged children in developing parts of the world, while Right to Play which uses the transformative power of play to develop critical life skills that affect positive and sustainable change and makes notable reference to the human rights implicit within contemporary thinking about society and sport (Right to Play, 2015). There are also many similar local examples like United Through Sport (United Through Sport, 2013) which aims to transform lives through sport in South Africa or community based projects such as the internationally acclaimed Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA, 2014) which was discussed earlier in this thesis.

Some organisations like the Zamintuthuko Sports Development Project and Addicted to Life Multisport and Lifestyle Club use multi-sport approaches in their work with young disadvantaged South Africans (Addicted to Life, 2013). Others use individual sports as agents of change such as the Caribbean project Bowling Out AIDS which uses cricket (CWG Canada, 2015), or the Rio De Janeiro based Fight for Peace (Luta Pela Paz) organisation which uses boxing and martial arts (Fight for Peace, 2012).

Many projects focus on the health issues which we have come to understand as directly related to poverty, particularly the prevention and treatment of specific infectious diseases such as Malaria or HIV, and empirical research supports the effectiveness of sport-based HIV prevention (Delva et al, 2010). There exist other forms of health aid too: the National Physical Disabled Table Tennis Association – Nepal and Active Disabled People Albania (ADP-Albania) uses sport to help disabled people lead more independent lives and build community capacity to achieve human rights for all disabled people (Sport and Dev, 2014; ADP-AL, 2014). While the Care Organisation focuses on ‘defending dignity and fighting poverty’, using the power of sport as a vehicle to minimise the effects of poverty on marginalised youth and young adult populations throughout Africa and Brazil (Care, 2014).

The Care Organisation is notable as it works in partnership with multinational corporation Nike as well as local organisations such as MYSA and in doing so brings together and mobilises a blend of global and local talents and skills to enable it to meet its sport plus health and educational objectives. As the earlier discussions highlights, this notion of partnership is central to successful SDP endeavour. Not just in the sense of partnering sport with education, health or youth empowerment in either a sport plus or plus sport sense, but rather there is increasing recognition of the

need to connect to local projects as international partners in order to be effective (Jarvie, 2011; Higgs, 2013).

Jarvie (2011) notes that sport, when linked to education in particular, can be effective in influencing life chances and one study into the impact of the FIFA World Cup on poverty reduction found access to social capital (defined as membership of social organisations) positively affected household income and reduced poverty but most significantly, that education was both the key determinant of income, and increased the probability of joining social networks (Pillay and Bass, 2008).

Football (soccer) is widely used in sport for development projects throughout the world, where its application ranges in both scale and developmental intent. Street Football World is a large scale example. Since its establishment in 2002 it has developed a network of more than 80 initiatives worldwide, all focussed on contributing to positive social change (Street Football World, 2014). Similarly large scale, and connected to Street Football World, is the Federation Internationale de Football Association's (FIFA) Football for Hope project which was established in 2005 to impact on social and human development processes (FIFA, 2013). Smaller scale examples also proliferate and can be equally effective, such as Glasgow's Caring Cities Football4life partnership (Glasgow Caring Cities, 2013), which supports and promotes the use of football as a direct route from poverty to promote community participation, advance education, empower communities and improve health.

Yet, while these examples all use the same sport: football, the social objectives are rather more heterogeneous. For instance, while *love futbol* is concerned with youth development, hope and inspiration (love futbol, 2014), Slum Soccer focuses on

social empowerment (Slum Soccer, 2013) and Grassroot Soccer (Grass Root Soccer, 2014) delivers HIV prevention and life skills to youth.

This enduring popularity for utilising football in SDP projects makes sense: it is the world's most popular sport (BiggestGlobalSport, 2014) and, unlike many other sports, it is neither facility nor equipment dependant. There is though a more sinister side to its use, with researchers such as Coakley and Pike (2009), Darnell (2012) and Hayhurst (2009) becoming increasingly concerned with neo-liberal globalisation and SDP, where the global north transfers its tastes to a southern market through offering limited options in a form of what Giulianotti (2004: 356) refers to as "neo-colonial repositioning". Use and overuse of football (soccer) could contribute to such concerns as well as limiting options to create a homogenised environment. This is the antithesis to Sen's capability approach, implicit within which is the need for an element of choice and which suggests the need for a range of sporting options within SDP projects. There exist other problems too: football is itself a sport which can divide. While it is a gender neutral sport within global regions like North America, it is still entrenched in male dominance in many other regions, inferring it may not be the best choice for women everywhere as such limitations can lead to exclusion.

Where once it was acceptable to use football on the basis of ease of application, or cost, or understanding, it is proposed in this thesis that there is a need to revisit the rationale behind selection of activities to consider offering a wider selection of sports in order to attract a broader audience of participants and in doing so, achieve greater impact. SDP projects should not be constrained or restricted to any particular sport, but instead should seek innovative and exciting ways in which to adapt to and overcome barriers, expand possibilities and deliver to the individual needs within

each society and local community. This choice needs to be extended to include activities appropriate for women, minority and vulnerable groups. If our contemporary understanding of poverty has its roots in the capability approach where development is ultimately about the expansion of capabilities, then it makes sense that we begin to apply some of the principles of the capability approach to the solutions we offer. Doing so would increase the potential of solutions to enable everyone to lead the life they value. Applied in sport, this means participating in the sport they value: that is, expansion of capabilities through expansion of the choices offered, not simply expansion of the SDP movement.

Increasingly sport as development is also used to achieve peace related objectives. In doing so it responds to the correlation between conflict and poverty highlighted earlier in this chapter. As Sambili (2010: 28), the UN Development Programme, Kick Out Poverty Campaign Co-ordinator highlights: “There’s no peace if you’re hungry or cannot pay your hospital bills”.

That global peace will be achieved once global poverty is eradicated may be a simplistic view of what is a complex issue. Yet, there is little doubt sport can help bring about positive, peaceful change and based on the UN endorsement of it to do so, sport has become increasingly used to help reconstruction, resolution and reconciliation and used in SDP to meet the UN goals for peace (Darnell, 2012; Jarvie, 2013). Jarvie and Thornton (2012) suggest sport is a valuable soft diplomatic tool in certain situations. The earlier example of North Korea’s recent use of ‘basketball diplomacy’ and China’s previous use of ‘ping pong diplomacy’ are both good examples of this (Rodrigues, 2014).

In Colombia, COLOMBUANITOS (Colombuanitos, 2013) uses sport in the form of recreation alongside education and rehabilitation in an integrated approach to help children impacted by violence and extreme poverty. In doing so they offer both an immediate escape from the day to day hardship of living in poverty and long term hope for a more free and valuable life. Similarly, the PUMA Peace initiative uses sports to fostering a more peaceful world (Sport and Peace, 2010), while Jarvie (2008) notes the use of sport in the Sudanese Twic Olympics to encourage tolerance and compassion.

Whilst many of these examples are of NGO's, it is worthy of note that the use of sport to alleviate poverty is not limited to the work of NGO's, with many nations themselves now investing into sport as an effective solution to poverty. In Venezuela, the mayor of Bogotá created a bike path network and built sports venues in order to create a sense of citizenship and pride in the city, the objective of which was to reduce crime and violence (Sport Against Poverty, 2013). Thus, even in poorer nations, there exists evidence of increased public spending on sporting projects intended to ameliorate poverty. Brazil's hosting of the 2014 FIFA World Cup and 2016 Olympic Games reflects the bias of international governments across the globe to target high profile events, with notions of legacy aimed at tackling poverty from the top down. The efficacy of this will be commented on in the course of this next section which considers in detail the ways in which high performance sport can contribute.

4.4.2 Sport as a Profession: The High Performance Sports System

Evidence of social change associated to poverty amelioration through high performance sport has been referenced within the literature in three main ways: (i) as

resources of hope, (ii) as an escape and social mobility, and (iii) for its economic benefits. This section will examine the contribution of high performance sport to poverty solutions within each of these areas.

4.4.2.1 Sport as Resources of Hope

Jarvie (2012: 375) referred to sport as “resources of hope”. Sport as hope is evident through the variety of roles which high performing sports people fulfil. Leading sportsmen and women are role models and ambassadors, championing particular causes and providing inspiration (Witherspoon, 2013). Many create foundations which provide hope, such as the case of World Number 1 golfer and four time major winner (March 2015) Rory McIlroy, who created his own Foundation in his native Northern Island because:

“I had been an ambassador for UNICEF for a couple of years but I wanted to start something of my own; to make a difference and see a tangible difference. That’s why I set up the foundation. As I’ve become older, I grasped more of a concept of what I can do in society. I don’t want my children to be proud of their dad as a major championship winner, but as someone who was able to help people less fortunate.”

(Murray, 2014:1)

Indeed there exists a proliferation of high performance athletes who have their own foundations and charitable causes. Although many have themselves never experienced poverty, they recognise that sport can help develop capabilities and offer hope. Tiger Wood’s foundation delivers innovative educational opportunities for youth worldwide (Tiger Woods Foundation, 2013), while the work of double Olympic gold medallist, Dame Kelly Holmes (DK Legacy Trust, 2013) supports young people to get their lives on track.

Sport as resources of hope is also evidenced through the roles sportspeople fulfil once their sporting careers finish. International athletes have gone on to politics, for example, former African and European footballer of the Year, George Weah, who was born and raised in a Monrovia slum, retired to his native Liberia to run for Presidency. In boxing, Manny Pacquiao fought his way out of poverty to win a world title and become Filipino congressman, regarding the biggest fight of his life as the one he wages against poverty in his country (Jarvie, 2012). Both Weah and Pacquiao overcame poverty themselves and in this sense also used sport as an escape, which is discussed in more detail shortly.

Former high performance sportspeople as a resource of hope do not have to hail from poverty in order to contribute to a solution. Cricketer Imran Khan followed his cricket career with a political one, coupled with extensive charity and welfare work in his native Pakistan (Huzar, 2011) and as we saw earlier in this chapter, used his international profile to draw attention to the role corruption plays in perpetuating poverty.

Through the profile of high performance teams too, hope is given. Organisations such as UNICEF gain global recognition through their association with Barcelona FC and similarly top celebrity (former) players like David Beckham promote and support UNICEF's work. Indeed sporting icons like Beckham act as ambassadors in a variety of ways: they raise awareness, raise money and as inspirations, they raise hope. This idea of sporting celebrity is used for charity in the UK through Sport Relief, which started in 2002 and is a biennial event linked to the Comic Relief Charity (Comic Relief, 2011) and is intended to:

“Bring about positive and lasting change in the lives of poor and disadvantaged people, which we believe requires investing in work

that addresses people's immediate needs as well as tackling the root causes of poverty and injustice.”

This might be best considered as acting as a resource of hope in both an economic and psychological sense.

Given the focus of this thesis is on the soccer (football), it is notable to consider the roles of professional footballers as resources of hope. They have become increasingly linked to charity work in some of the most impoverished global regions and in doing so similarly reflect both economic and psychological hope. Some have started their own academies, as is the case of former Welsh player Craig Bellamy (Bellamy, 2013:1) whose academy offers children in Sierra Leone the chance to achieve their potential through sport and education to:

“Empower a new generation of talent to change their own and their communities lives for the better and inspiring positive personal and social development through the power of sport.”

Others like former England and Liverpool captain, Steven Gerrard, began his foundation to help disadvantaged children through making grant support available directly to them (Gerrard, 2014). While the hope extended by George Weah was not limited to running for Presidential office, and he continues to perform humanitarian work, including most pertinently, the creation of a football team of which the only membership requirement is attendance at school (Biography, 2014).

Football players also act as resources of hope through their connections, network and influence. Olukya (2012:1) reports how African footballers Didier Drogba (Ivory Coast), Samuel Eto-o (Cameroon) and Steven Pienaar (South Africa) joined African Heads of State to promote United Against Malaria (UAM):

“Across the continent, football dominates the hearts and minds of children and parents alike. But, so does malaria – the cause of 174 million illnesses and nearly 600,000 deaths in Africa alone every year,” said Samuel Eto’o, Cameroonian national team player and UAM champion. “We have united to utilize the power of football to fight malaria and we hope our fans will join us.”

For many of these professional footballers, the financial gains made through their playing careers acts in another way too: as an escape and this next section will progress to examine this in more detail.

4.4.2.2 Sport as an Escape

There is both historical and contemporary evidence of sport an escape through social mobility, up-skilling to improve economic and human capability and as a broader educative tool (Jarvie, 2007). Indeed, even the development of a simple performance platform such as a soccer academy, which is frequently used in ameliorative initiatives, provides possibilities for sport to become an escape as it enables those with the talent and drive to reach high performance levels.

There exists an abundance of examples of this within the literature and source materials. Footballer Ze Roberto escaped the slums of Sao Paulo and an early life of shoplifting and glue sniffing to play for Real Madrid, Bayer Munich and his native Brazil (UEFA, 2012). Haile Gabreselassie ran himself out of poverty and into the Olympic record books (Jarvie, 2006) and the evidence provided by these stories continues from generation to generation. Indeed two of the most prominent football stars of the modern era exemplify sport as an escape. Brazilian Neymar grew up in Sao Paulo and through football lifted himself and his family out of poverty (Kelly, 2011), while Argentinean Lionel Messi, moved to Barcelona FC as a youth only

because they had offered to pay for the treatment of his growth hormone deficiency which his family could otherwise not afford (White, 2009).

Football as an escape from poverty is not limited to the GS, but in reflecting the global nature of poverty so too there are many examples from the GN. In the USA the unique draft system affords the very best high school athletes the opportunity achieving University scholarships. This is sport as an escape but in the connection to education, it offers long term hope too. Basketball players William Gates and Arthur Agee, had their rags to riches stories from the housing projects in Chicago to the NBA depicted through the 1994 documentary *Hoop Dreams* (James and Marx, 1994). In boxing, both Muhammad Ali and his great rival Joe Frazier fought their way out of poverty and a generation later, another champion boxer, Mike Tyson, later followed a similar route out of poverty (Goldstein, 2011; Heller, 1995).

Given football's global popularity it is an interesting barometer of the journey of high performance sport within society, charting the increasing use of sport as an escape. Progressively more first and second generation players from the GS, in particular African nations, play professionally in a sport where there are great financial rewards to be made. Globalisation has enabled sporting opportunity and the dream of a sports career to reach new audiences and this media exposure has led to many young Africans considering European football as a career path (Poli, 2006, Chari and Mhiripiri, 2014).

In an interview with Kay (7/2/2009), former premiership football manager, Harry Redknapp suggests the reason for the success of these players is the drive and motivation they possess:

“...young British footballers...are in danger of being squeezed out of the game unless they match the hunger shown by players from Africa and poorer parts of the world. More and more players from these poorer countries are becoming top players, because it's the only way out for them, just like it was with the great Jewish boxers we had in the east end of London. Now the modern footballer is very much black, mixed race. As well as being great athletes, they're hungry. They haven't all been driven to schools of excellence in their parents' Mercedes and 4x4s.”

This belief that the poor are more likely to succeed because they have a greater motivation to maximise their talent in order to escape poverty is common and there is growing support of this. The most recent Olympic Games in London, 2012 highlighted the number of high profile Olympians who overcame the adversity of poverty to excel in their chosen sporting arenas. Marathon runners Augusto Ramos Soares and Juventina Napoleao were Timor-Leste's only representatives in London and hail from a nation where most of the 1.1 million inhabitants are amongst the world's poorest, living on less than 78p a day. Soares reports he was inspired to take up running when, as a 15 year old, he watched Agueda Amaral competing in the Sydney Olympics in 2000, an event she prepared for training barefoot in a refugee camp (Hodal, 2012). Amaral is now his coach and this story conveys sport as both an escape and as hope.

American boxer Rau'Shee Warren escaped poverty to reach to 2012 Olympics (Arguello, 2012), while US hurdler Lolo Jones grew up living in the basement of a Salvation Army church and was so poor that she stole food to survive (Arguello, 2012). Also competing in London 2012 was Jamaican sprinter Yohan Blake who cites escaping the poverty he grew up in as a major driving force behind his sporting success (Arguello, 2012). Fellow Jamaican, Olympic 100m champion Shelly-Ann

Fraser-Pryce, similarly noted that athletics helped her break the cycle of poverty (Jamaica Observer, 2012). While the flag bearer of the 7 strong Rwandan Olympic team was Adrien Niyonshuti, a survivor of the 1994 genocide in which he lost 6 of his brothers, and in all 60 members of his family. His career was launched in 2006 by former Tour de France cyclist, American Jock Boyer, who started Team Rwanda and with it, a story which is testament to the regenerative power of sport (Smith, 2012).

International sport is now truly a global phenomenon in terms of representation too and there are many examples of athletes competing for nations other than their country of birth in a reciprocal arrangement whereby they escape the trauma of poverty in their homeland while their adopted nation receives the kudos associated with their athletic talent. These include Leo Manzano who won a silver medal in London, 2012. Manzano was born in poverty in Mexico before making the USA his home (Layden, 2013). Also competing for the USA in London 2012 was Puerto Rican John Orozco who only started gymnastics because the lessons were free, and distance runner Lopez Lomong. Lomong was born in Sudan and kidnapped as a six-year-old in order to be turned into a child soldier, but escaped by running for 3 days and 3 nights to a refugee camp in Kenya before a decade later, being relocated to the USA by charities (Arguello, 2012).

These are remarkable stories of sport as an escape. They extend globally, with many similar examples in Europe and the UK. For instance, former Ethiopian refugee Urige Buta now represents Norway as a marathon runner (London, 2012), while Serge Ibaka, a Spanish basketball player grew up in war torn Congo and played basketball as an escape from the traumas of his mother's death and fathers

imprisonment during the second Congo war (News OK, 2010). The story of GB distance runner Mo Farah is similarly inspirational. Farah grew up in the poverty of war torn Somalia before, as an eight year old, he escaped to live in London where he would later become a double Olympic Champion. Not forgetting his impoverished roots, Farah uses his sporting profile to promote the work of his foundation which provides life saving aid to some of the millions of people facing starvation and disease in East Africa (Mo Farah, 2014).

Indeed, even recent GB Olympic successes have similarly been attributed to this notion of overcoming hardship and of sport as escape. Entitled “Jamieson’s path to glory, Interview: Olympic Silver Medallist puts success down to a year of poverty”, Jamieson recounts that in order to follow his Olympic dream, he moved unfunded to a bedsit in Paris and lived on porridge and rice and a budget of less than £20 a day to enable him to train full time with his coach (Reilly-Smith, 2013). Although this cannot be equated to the real hardship of living in poverty, the underlying message is an important one. It is the sense that when faced with a difficult condition there is a drive which motivates and propels individuals beyond their previously imaginable limits. This is supported by the observations of football manager Harry Redknapp and by the personal stories of Matola, Pacquiao, Gabreselassie and the countless others. That nations from the Global South such as Brazil (finished 22nd out of a total of 204 participating NOC’s), Ethiopia, (24th) and Kenya (28th) finished so high in the 2012 Olympic Games medal table offers further support.

It should be noted that long term historical analysis (1896 – 2006) shows a different picture: developing countries have an average Olympic ‘productivity’ four times lower than that of developed countries, and that in actual fact there is a strong

connection between average GNP and average number of medals won (Bourg and Gouguet, 2010). Evidence from Great Britain supports this, pointing to a system where those from a more affluent background have a greater likelihood of succeeding. In the 2008 Olympics, half of Team GB's gold medallists were privately educated and four years later at London 2012, over one third (36%) of GB medal winners were educated at fee-paying schools, which educate just 7% of the school population:

“.....independent school students are more than 5 times over-represented amongst our medal winners relative to their proportion in the population – which is also the case at leading universities and in the professions more generally.”

(Lampl,2012:1)

There does however exist a high level of variance between sports, with all the 2012 GB athletics medallists coming from the state education system, while sports like rowing, shooting and equestrian were far more weighted towards the private education system (Rogers, 2012). It is apparent therefore that there exists significant imbalance within the UK sports system, with poorer children not given the opportunity to explore and develop their sporting potential to enable their escape.

4.4.2.3 Sport as an Economic Tool

The final way high performance sport has been considered in relation to poverty is through its potential as an economic tool. This economic potential extends across individual and team contributions to the high performance pinnacle of sport: the Olympic Games. This section will consider these various ways in which sport is used as an economic tool to mitigate and ameliorate poverty.

On an individual level sportsmen and women add to local regeneration through investment, with Champions League winning footballer Didier Drogba, a good example of this. Drogba invests in industry in his native Ivory Coast (Bloomberg, 2013), while former world and Olympic champion athlete Maria Mutola financially supports her community in the construction of sports facilities and more recently through her Lurdes Mutola Foundation which helps meet health, housing and educational objectives throughout Mozambique (Team Celebration, 2013).

Whilst individual examples such as these exist, sport as an economic tool has more frequently been considered in relation to nations, teams and global sporting events. Safran (2009:1) highlights that high performance sport can ameliorate the effects of poverty through the victory of a national team, which can directly benefit the economy (as understood through GDP) of a winning nation as well as lift a nation's spirits:

“Economic growth among world champions tends to outstrip that in the losing finalist countries during a World Cup year. With a few exceptions, it is a case of winner takes all. A World Cup winner enjoys an average economic bonus of 0.7% additional growth, while the losing finalist suffers an average loss of 0.3% compared to the previous year.”

Economic benefits of victories are not widely substantiated and Kavetsos and Szymanski (2010) did not find any correlation between a nation's sporting success and feelings of national pride or general well-being, although they did find a significant relationship between hosting a major sporting event and increased feeling of psychological well-being.

Perhaps the most impactful demonstration of sport as an economic tool is found in connection to hosting major sporting events. This is now considered big business and

is one way in which nations use sport to help meet broader social objectives and justify investment. The 1984 Los Angeles Olympics pioneered the TV, sponsorship and modern marketing benefits now commonly associated with hosting a mega event, and in doing so promoted the idea that hosting brings significant economic benefits (Walters, 2008).

While the FIFA 2010 World Cup expanded the international profile of South Africa as well as increasing its GDP and delivering upgraded infrastructure (Surendranath and Boojihawon, 2011), the evidence of broader economic benefits is mixed, with impact studies typically overestimate the gains and underestimate the costs involved (Barclay, 2009). In fact the mega events held in the 1990's: the Olympic Games (Atlanta and Albertville) and World Cup (US), all incurred substantial debt (Walters, 2008). Building facilities can also add long-term financial burden to the host cities (Searle, 2002), with Athens 2004 a good example of this. It also marked the full emergence of what Boykoff (2013) calls 'celebration capitalism', an idea which is gathering pace in current thinking with Giuilanotti et al (2015) similarly calling the modern Olympics 'festival capitalism', more focussed on profit than any other outcome. Indeed, increasingly this profit has gone to the IOC itself, resulting in the hosting of mega events becoming somewhat of an own goal in recent decades (Zimbalist, 2015).

This neo-liberalism dominates the sport as economy narrative, with mega-events at the forefront, where even the costs associated with bidding for and hosting such an event reflect this. For example the bid for the London Olympic Games was launched 2 years before securing the vote and cost the UK government £30 million (Walters, 2008: 22). Increasingly these costs are justified with notions of legacy which often take the form of urban regeneration (Gratton and Taylor, 2000), with the selection of

poor east end areas as sites in both London (2012 Olympic Games) and Glasgow (2014 Commonwealth Games) illustrative of this.

However, there is a need to consider that the overall investment may be better spent directly in education, affordable housing and social services, and to ensure the long term legacy is fully implemented through proper long term funding and support. The 2010 Winter Olympic Games exemplifies the failure of this. Host city Vancouver's organising committee, VANOC, originally promised 252 housing units in the Games village as social housing, using this as justification for forced evictions and public investment, but by 2010 the City approved a \$32 million plan to rent out half these at market rates, leaving only 126 units for low-income residents (CBC, 2010). This example is by no means unique and staging Olympic Games significantly impacts upon the right to adequate housing of the local population, with the worst effects of this felt by the most vulnerable, marginalised sectors of society, including the poor and the homeless (COHRE, 2007).

Equally troubling is the evidence that private companies are the real long term benefactors of the public investment made in order to host a mega event. Boykoff (2013) suggests the reality of public – private partnerships is that the public pay while the private profit. There is thus a moral obligation to ensure public investment in sporting events is monitored, linked to specific social caveats and that legacies are actually fully implemented. Furthermore, public investment should not come at the cost of social services. For Sen (1999) a good life is one with choice based on value and there remain serious questions as to whether investment into sports events based on neo-liberal principles really expands the capabilities, freedoms and choices of those most in need.

One way to assist a paradigm shift towards these values is through ending corruption. Earlier this chapter presented this as part of the solution to ending poverty. Sport, ethical sport, could have a significant role to play in this. Yet sport is vulnerable to corruption: match fixing scandals, systematic doping and the exploitation of athletes as human trade are all major global concerns in modern sport (Sudgen and Tomlinson, 2005). As the guardians of sport, there is a moral imperative for leading agencies, in particular the global organisations such as the IOC and FIFA to uphold the values and morality of our global community. They must lead by example, setting the standard for policy and practice at all levels.

Yet, the Swiss based IOC is registered as a not for profit NGO and enjoys global tax exemptions, ensuring substantial annual profits, with a \$383 million profit from the Beijing Olympic Games alone (Boykoff, 2011). Boykoff (2013) asserts the Olympic Games have become about profit, with the IOC happily the capitalist role model. FIFA enjoy similar tax free status but in their recent immersion in bribery and corruption scandals perhaps there is hope for the significant change necessary if ethical and moral sport is to become more than simply aspiration. Recently the IOC has made moves towards this with their 'Olympic Agenda 2020'. In this they have articulated the future of the Olympic Movement, a future in which athletes are central to its forty recommendations, most notably the protection of clean athletes through the creation of the Integrity Betting Intelligence System, a USD 20 million fund established to protect clean athletes from doping and competition manipulation (IOC, 2015).

This is positive progress since, for sport to play a role in poverty solutions there is a need for a re-set which puts the focus on the values of sport and its ability as a force of good. For this reason, the growth of the SDP movement and use of sport for

development should be lauded as it heralds a return to the values of sport in their purest sense.

There is a need to recognise the important role high performance sport plays in this movement too, particularly as the international standard bearers, ambassadors and role models for sport. For this reason there is a need to ensure transparency, openness and fairness at all levels of sport. The joy of sport after all is walking into the sporting arena knowing you have given completely in your preparation; knowing there are rules to which everyone must abide, and knowing that if you play to your best within the boundaries of the rules, there is an opportunity to win, regardless of traditional societal divisions such as colour, race or socio-economic status. That is the essence of sport: the pure unabridged joy which underpins it and it is the reason it can positively change society and help ameliorate poverty.

These discussions are important, not least because of the need for moral and ethical sport reflecting moral and ethical society. They are important within this thesis on another level too because they provide a strong rationale and entry point into sport as capability dialogue and this is now explored in more detail.

4.5 Capability, Poverty and Sport

For sport to be part of the solution to social problems such as poverty there seems to be a need for much greater strategic consideration of its use and in how we understand the qualities it can contribute. This thesis proposes the capability approach can contribute in a myriad of ways and in doing so proposes sport as capability has the potential to advance the sport and society discourse beyond merely sport as resources of hope, or as an escape, or as of economic benefit. Sport as

capability is a new way of considering the sport and in this section sport as the expansion of capabilities is introduced.

Choice is implicit within the capability approach and in sport there exists the potential for sporting choices suited to particular demographics and cultures. For instance, in earlier discussions the vulnerability of women in poverty was highlighted which suggests their empowerment and mobilisation is required. Enabling access to sports of their choice may assist with this. Upon this platform of engagement their capabilities may be developed and personal freedoms achieved.

Furthermore, if alleviating poverty needs to utilise a new type of global ‘communitarianism’ and build upon the new sense of shared co-ordinates, then there is a strong argument in favour of using sports and activities based on cooperation rather than the current focus on (neo-liberally rooted) competition. For this reason it is pertinent to ask whether the IOC’s continued inclusion of boxing, judo, wrestling or event biathlon within the Olympic movement reflects the needs of a modern global society. The ethics implicit within the capability paradigm support the idea of team work, yet team sports have been eroded, diluted and marginalised within an Olympic movement which we have seen is focussed on expansion based on the neo-liberal values of commercialism and the consumerism.

Surely for sport to be allowed to fulfil the influential role the evidence suggests it is able to do, then organisations like the IOC need to look beyond the commercial value of sport to consider it within a multi-dimensional paradigm. By this I mean not only

the multi-dimensional benefits it brings to participants and communities, but the need for multi-dimensional sporting choices in order to maximise these benefits.

The capability approach undoubtedly lends support for the strengthening of the position of sport as a tool for positive change within the development and welfare systems in both the Global North and Global South. Sport can assist with the development of person's capabilities and freedoms. It achieves this through its role as a voluntary act of both being and doing; through sport participants freely choose to do sport and through doing so they can gain both momentary and long term freedoms. Sport is an end in itself and although other extraneous benefits can be gained, participation in sport is most frequently done purely for the enjoyment of participation. It is a conscious and free activity which can immerse participants in an unconscious way and in doing so, can increase capabilities, social connections and personal freedoms.

Perhaps the strongest argument of all for the justification of understanding sport as capability within poverty solutions can be offered in connection to what Lister (2004: 7) refers to as the 'non-material core' of poverty which includes:

“...lack of voice; disrespect, humiliation and an assault on dignity and self-esteem; shame and stigma; powerlessness; denial of rights and diminished citizenship. These represent what I shall call the ‘relational/symbolic’ aspects of poverty.”

Sport it seems has the potential to give the poor a voice, to build respect and self-esteem and in doing so help develop the vital tools (capabilities) which allow individuals to break the cycle of poverty and reach their potential and a life of value.

Clark (2002; 2005) notes the functionings of both playing sport and watching sport, which in part informed this thesis' consideration of the expansion of capabilities of the spectators at the HWC as well as the methodological decision to use both functioning and capability related questions within the interview schedule. Yet, to date there have been very few studies which have considered capability, poverty and sport. Sen himself did make mention of cricket within his work and used the example of the bicycle in order to illustrate functionings; describing a bicycle as an essential functioning when it is used as a mode of transportation, yet it can also be used as a form of exercise, or a way to achieve a different kind of 'being' or 'doing' (Clark, 2002; Clark 2005).

Preceding discussions within this chapter have touched on some of the ways in which sport as capability has the potential to help overcome poverty and its effects. It is now desirable to consider the specific features of the capability approach which make it a valuable way to understand and think about sport within the social dialogue. This thesis promotes the capability approach's ability to do so based on three central qualities and this section will consider each in turn: (i) its individual and personal view on capability, (ii) its broad scope which is unrestricted by any particular list of capabilities, and (iii) its opportunity aspect which considers the extent to which people have the opportunity to achieve outcomes they value (Sen, 1999: 291).

4.5.1 Individualism

In its aspiration for the expansion of human development through capabilities, the capability approach is concerned with increasing individual choices, opportunities, wellbeing and freedom. In this focus, individuals themselves become central to

accounts of human endeavour. Each and every capability and each and every individual matters. This contrast with quantitative approaches which reduce human endeavour to a statistic or objectively discerned metric.

Earlier in this thesis the diverse nature of sport was explored and it is through this diversity and in the myriad of different social outcomes it can produce and contribute towards, that sport reflects the essence of the individual and personal perspective of the capability approach. That sport and the capability approach are similarly strong in their concern with individual development enables the approach to speak to all types of sporting pursuit and vice versa.

4.5.2 Breadth

Part of the reason for this individualism is the lack of a definitive list of capabilities within Sen's capability approach. Although Sen was widely criticised for his failure to do so (Evans, 2002), therein lies part of the potential of the capability approach as a way to understand sport. This breadth means that individual capability lists developed through sport are accretive and reflective of each unique environment and circumstance rather than pre-determined or pre-fixed indicators. Thus the 'incompleteness' of Sen's approach makes it more favourable to the sport in society discourse than similar approaches such as Nussbaum's. Accretive lists enable the capability approach to convey the relationships that form part of the social structure and dynamic and that are central to sport. In doing so sport and its potential can be understood in a highly individualised and nuanced way.

Through this multi-dimensionality there exists the potential for levels of analysis and perspective which consider sport, poverty and homelessness and their interplay in

terms of specific capabilities required and developed through and within each. It accounts for overlaps within and between areas and by reducing each to simply ‘capabilities’, the approach brings a common language to understanding sport. Indeed, since capabilities are both important and widely acknowledged as an international measurement and assessment of poverty, it is critical to begin to understand sport in terms of capabilities if this approach is to gain traction within the broader social domain and in response to poverty and homelessness.

4.5.3 Opportunity

The third feature of the capability approach which makes it a desirable prism through which to understand sport is its opportunity aspect. Both opportunity and choice are implicit within the capability approach and earlier in this chapter the notion of choice in terms of the types of sport was considered. Opportunity was important to Sen (1999) and indeed he considered social opportunity as one of his five categories of freedoms.

Social opportunities may be understood to extend to and within sporting opportunities, whereby it is essential for each and every human to have access to sporting opportunity both for social freedom and of being able to participate and the extraneous benefits it brings.

Implicit in the capability approach is the need to move beyond partial, short term relief to create sustainable and long term change. Development as freedom demands opportunity and just as sport as human rights is creeping into global consciousness, this means sporting opportunity too. Moreover, in the demand of the capability approach for moral and ethical development, the opportunity to access services such

as health and education, as well as sport becomes increasingly important. As we saw earlier in this chapter, sport has become progressively tied to health and education within SDP projects and it could be suggested that in doing so, the potential of all three is accelerated. In the role of sport in a ‘sport plus’ sense in particular, where it frequently acts as the magnet to attract individuals, it could also be suggested that sport is the driver of opportunity.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the complex and multi-faceted poverty discourse. It has charted the progression in the ways in which poverty may be understood, from its traditional dichotomisation as structural, individual or cultural, through to its elucidation as a multidimensional problem requiring multidimensional solutions. Most notably the narrative led to understanding poverty as a human right and in doing so it enabled an entry point into Sen’s capability approach as a useful way in which the social roles of sport within poverty solutions may be illuminated and understood. It is this which connects to and is expanded upon in the original research contributed by this thesis and which is presented in the chapters six, seven and eight.

In concluding this chapter it is pertinent to note that one of the most exigent problems of poverty is its manifestation as homelessness. Because of this and because homeless people participating in street soccer form the focus of the case studies within this thesis, the next chapter considers homelessness in greater detail.

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to delineate the final piece of the contextual - theoretical background which informs this thesis. It contributes the understanding of precisely what homelessness is and in doing so enables the case studies of the HWC and SSS to be both better situated and better understood. Following these brief introductory comments, this chapter is organised around three main sections: (i) perspectives of homelessness in which definitions, measurements, causes and solutions are considered, (ii) homelessness as a pathway, and (iii) sport and homelessness.

As the previous chapter elucidated, homelessness is inextricably tied to poverty. It warrants attention as its own chapter within this thesis on 2 counts: (i) this study is in the main concerned with those who are currently or have recently experienced homelessness, and (ii) because, of all the symptoms of poverty, homelessness may be regarded the worst because homeless people tend to live in the deepest poverty (Seymour, 2009).

5.2 Perspectives on Homelessness

As long ago as 1948 the UN (Article 25: 1) highlighted that the home is a basic human right:

“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.”

Yet almost seventy years later the number of homeless people worldwide is still estimated to be between 100 million and one billion, depending on how it is defined and counted (Tipple and Speak, 2009). Precise figures are not agreed because like poverty, homelessness is a relative concept, meaning definitions are temporal and sensitive to the prevailing socio-economic and geo-political climates in which they operate. As such, many of the problems with defining and measuring poverty are mirrored when considering homelessness and in this next section some of these will be considered.

5.2.1 Definitions of Homelessness

Homelessness may be defined and measured in a number of ways (Clapham, Kemp and Smith, 1990; Anderson and Christian, 2003) which has implications for understanding not only its scale and who it affects, but also the policies adopted to improve it (Pleace and Quilgars 2003). One of the narrowest definitions of homelessness and one oft held by the public, is the perception of the homeless as simply ‘roofless’, that is: the notion of people sleeping in the streets and having no shelter (Somerville, 1992).

Homelessness extends beyond the boundaries of accommodation or shelter (McNaughton, 2007). It is many different circumstances including: living in temporary or emergency accommodation; living in institutions such as foster homes, bed and breakfast accommodation and informal arrangements with friends, which are deemed not appropriate as a long term residence, and; intolerable living conditions such as overcrowding or living with an abusive partner, which are endured because of a lack of another viable option (Anderson and Christian, 2003). Perhaps to reflect

these varied circumstances, a broad definition of homelessness for the UK was proposed in the Housing Act 1996 (175):

“...a person is homeless if there is no accommodation that they are entitled to occupy; or they have accommodation but it is not reasonable for them to continue to occupy this accommodation”

In its openness this definition is useful. Yet regardless of such varied and different circumstances, homeless people in the UK tend to share one common characteristic: poverty (Anderson, Kemp and Quilgars, 1993). Therefore, just as Lister (2004) described poverty as the unacceptable extreme of inequality, so too homelessness may be regarded as the unacceptable extreme of poverty and it is suggested here that definitions which convey more completely this unacceptability may also be useful to future understanding of homelessness. The UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2004:23) definition of a homeless household perhaps achieves this:

“...those households without a shelter that would fall within the scope of living quarters. They carry their few possessions with them, sleeping in the streets, in doorways or on piers, or in another space, on a more or less random basis”

In doing so the UN narrows the scope of homelessness to simply rooflessness. Within such a conceptualisation, it becomes apparent that the reported one billion people living in slums (Homeless International, 2014) would not be regarded as homelessness. Definitions are as such not universally agreed, accepted or applicable.

One way homelessness has been traditionally thought about is within the social exclusion paradigm (ODPM, 2005; Evangelista, 2010), however just as with the poverty discourse, this is limiting and in fact homelessness may be best thought of as

multidimensional (Somerville, 2013). Evangelista (2010:193) suggests the capability approach as an effective way to study and define homelessness:

“...the concept of ‘home’ would be understood individually as comprising what each person ‘inhabiting’ the space contributes to it, as well as what the living space contributes to each person. In this sense the concept of a ‘home’ has different implications than the concept of a ‘house’. Housing is a satisfier, and therefore there are entitlements or rules of access to housing. Housing meets our need for shelter because it protects us from, for example, inclement weather. But at the same time it enables us to increase our capabilities by allowing us to rest; offering us somewhere to store our belongings and to clean ourselves; providing a space for personal and social relations, a space to foment creativity, a point of reference, a workplace or leisure space; and, as a symbol of belonging to a community, enabling our political participation. Housing therefore gives us the ability to achieve the functionings or states of well-being that we can understand as a ‘home’.”

This is important to this thesis not least because of the influence of Sen in both its theoretical and conceptual framing. It is also important because it enables homelessness to be understood as what Somerville (2013) called its multi-dimensional and storied nature. By recognising the personal stories of the homeless street soccer players, this thesis responds to his call for approaches which value the humanity of homeless people and account for the possibility of their personal agency.

5.2.2 Causes of Homelessness

Early research into homelessness tended to focus on problems at the expense of considering underlying causes, before it became clear that a more comprehensive model which includes the factors which contribute to homelessness was required (Shinn and Weitzman, 1990). In response to this, the idea of different causes of homelessness became widely supported and there exists many classifications of these (Harding, Irving and Whowell, 2011; Tipple, 2000). This section considers them.

Causes have tended to be polarised as either structural or behavioural (OPDM, 2005). Or further sub-categorised into the structural causes: poverty, unemployment, de-institutionalisation or a lack of affordable housing, and the behavioural causes: personal failings such as substance abuse, lack of qualifications, plain bad luck or an inability to cope with adverse events (Kemp, Lynch and Mackay, 2001).

Just as we saw with poverty, the decision to cite one particular cause over another is often politically driven. This is exemplified by the changing conceptualisation of homelessness within the UK, where in the 1970's, it was defined in terms of behavioural characteristics, attributing the cause to the individuals themselves and tackled through policies and approaches which utilised social services (Kemp, Lynch and Mackay, 2001). In this 'sin talk' the homeless themselves were considered responsible for their predicament (Gowan, 2010) and it is the preference of right wing politicians to attach significance to behavioural classifications which apportion blame on the individual to justify a minimalist political response (Grimshaw, 2001).

Following the rise in homelessness during the 1980s and 1990s, housings or structural problems became accepted as part of the cause, which resulted in a policy shift towards the provision of social and affordable housing (Kemp, Lynch and Mackay, 2001). Gowan (2010) referred to this as 'system talk' and it was led by the Labour government's commitment to tackling homelessness through its Homelessness Action Programme (HAP) which resulted in reducing the numbers of rough sleepers (Harding and Willett, 2008). Indeed, the political left view of homelessness tends to focus on structural factors and in doing so acknowledges that wider societal failings and inequalities are responsible (Grimshaw, 2001).

More recently the homeless have been considered as a vulnerable group suffering mental health and addiction issues in what Gowan (2010) called 'sick talk'. Indeed, it is those with mental health issues, as well as those coming from the institutionalised environments of the care or prison systems who are the most overrepresented groups within the homeless population and most likely to be found living in the most extreme homelessness: sleeping rough on the streets or in emergency shelters (Pleace and Quilgars 2003; Rees, 2009).

Although mental health problems most regularly lead to long term homelessness because these people tend to have few exit options (Chamberlain and Johnson, 2013), it is troubles at home, most commonly the breakdown of a relationship, which is the main cause (Wright and Tompkins, 2006). Childhood trauma in particular is a significant cause (Harding, Irving and Whowell, 2011; Fitzpatrick, Bramley and Johnsen, 2013) where experience of parental addiction and domestic violence cause the greatest long term damage (Harding, Irving and Whowell, 2011).

All of these ways of thinking about homelessness are more applicable to the GN than the GS. Homelessness in the GS is characterised by refugees; people displaced because of conflict, racist domination, natural disasters or oppressive regimes (Bartlett and Ghaffar-Kucher, 2013). This homelessness is caused in more simplistic ways than in the GN with two fundamental issues at its core: (i) poverty, especially rural poverty, and (ii) failure of the housing supply system (Tipple and Speak, 2003: vi).

This has led to homelessness in developing regions being widely considered in the context of slums, where a slum is a run-down area of a city, characterised by sub-standard housing, squalor and lacking in tenure security (UN-HABITAT, 2007) and

which may be best thought of as the manifestation of the urbanisation of poverty (Conin and Guthrie, 2011; Gruneau, 2015). The United Nations describes slums as exhibiting one or more of the following characteristics: poor structural quality and durability of housing, insufficient and overcrowded living areas, lack of secure tenure, lack of sanitation facilities and poor access to water (Homeless International, 2013) and indeed the term ‘slum’ has itself come to represent the plethora of negative associations such sub-standard housing contains (Gilbert, 2007). Slum conditions clearly do not align with the ‘standards of living adequate for health and well-being’ outlined by the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948), but the UN is taking action, as Gruneau, (2015: 496) highlights:

“... in 2003 the UN (UN-HABITAT), released a landmark report, *The Challenge of Slums*, that urges donors and governments to improve the lives of 5 to 10 million slum dwellers by 2005, and 100 million by 2020, in line with the broader Millennium Goals...”

Within slums the problems experienced are broad and varied, affecting every area of people’s life (Homeless International, 2013). They are frequently built on land most at risk of natural disasters and lack the basic infrastructure commonplace in the GN including the basic provision of water, electricity and sanitation (UN-HABITAT, 2005). Slums are stigma (Jones, 2011) and slum dwellers experience a life of daily struggle; they are excluded from basic education and health provision as well as opportunities for employment or a better way of life. There is no infrastructure, little electricity and open sewers. There is uncertainty over the ability to feed a family due to the volatile food prices brought about by drought, floods, famine and political unrest (Conin and Guthrie, 2011).

A central feature of slums is exclusion; exclusion from the political system, from the monetary system, from the employment system and social exclusion from the mainstream society that initially drew these people to the city (Koonings and Kruijt, 2007). Women in particular experience hardship in slums, where they carry the burden of the daily work and live without privacy and at risk of rape and violence (Meleis, Birch and Wachter, 2011). Furthermore, the organisation Homeless International (2013) have suggested that ethnic and racial tensions often arise in slums where tightly packed 'residents', living in the stressful conditions of constant hardship, experience social and cultural exclusion even within their own slum community and sometimes these tensions can lead to extreme violence between seemingly rival groups or tribes. This, the UN suggest, has the potential to create a breeding ground for fundamentalists or zealots from all denominations (UN-HABITAT, 2008).

In spite of these extreme adversities, many positive aspects of slums have been reported. For example in Kibera, where 60% of the population live on less than USD 1 a day there exists a thriving informal economy and a good sense of community (Conin and Guthrie, 2011). Slums engender positive solidarity within their community (UN-HABITAT, 2008), and despite the squalor of slums, infant mortality rates across sub-Saharan Africa and India, with the exception of Kibera, are lower in urban slums than in rural areas, and life expectancy in general is higher in the cities than in rural areas (Kenny, 2012).

It would be naive to consider any aspect of slum life positively, as the reality is that this urbanisation is simply what Gruneau (2015) refers to as an urbanisation of poverty caused by the exponential growth of world cities and which has led to half the world's population now living in cities (that is occupying an area of 3% of the

global landmass). Of these urban populations, Cronin and Guthrie (2011) estimate 30-70% are slums and by 2020 estimates suggest that 300-500 million people will have moved from rural to urban areas (Gruneau, 2015). Such projections loom ominously, but need to be regarded with caution as homeless figures in developing countries are notoriously difficult to estimate with some nations tending to exaggerate poverty statistics in order to get more international humanitarian aid (Angotti, 2006), while others try to hide their urban poverty (Davis, 2006).

Although a significant contributor, homelessness in the GS is not simply caused by urbanisation. Increasingly the impact of climate change within our shared planet is becoming more central to the homeless narrative. It is estimated that between 1980 and 2002, 144.5 million people from some of the poorest nations became homeless as a result of climate-related catastrophes (Lamba, 2008 in Evangelista, 2010). Indeed, many of the world's most vulnerable live in climatically exposed regions, and it is vital therefore that climate change, global climate policy as well as global migration and re-location are considered as a matter of urgency within the international homeless and poverty discourse.

Homelessness then is a problem in all global regions and although neo-liberalism may be at the heart of the global inequality and poverty which leads to homelessness, the causes and consequences of homelessness are very different in the societies of the GN than they are in those of the GS. There exists a clear distinction in both scale and intensity of homelessness between the GN and GS where, in the GN it results in people living on the margins of society, these margins are a great deal better and offer more hope than the margins in which the homeless populations in the GS experience. That is not to make it acceptable: homelessness of any form or in any society is unacceptable and indeed Anagotti (2008) highlights this bifurcation

between rich and poor, urban and rural as overly simplistic and a distortion of reality, suggesting it is far more appropriate to consider homelessness as a dynamic and multi-faceted problem. For this reason it is worth considering homelessness as a pathway, but before doing so I firstly want to complete this reflection of the perspectives on homelessness by thinking about solutions.

5.2.3 Ameliorative Action and Lasting Solutions to Homelessness

The discussions thus far seem to elucidate that the lasting solution to homelessness is a relatively simple one: end poverty and inequality. However, as the lack of complete success of the MDG's most eloquently highlight, even with unilateral global agreement such sweeping solutions are, as yet, unattainable. More realistically solutions to homelessness may be regarded as complex and, in parallels to the difficulties associated with poverty, they are geo-politically influenced.

Earlier, evidence of the multi-faceted causes of homelessness in the GN was presented which suggested solutions need to go beyond the provision of housing in order to assist with social and health problems (Kemp, Lynch and Mackay, 2001). Doing so requires an integrated approach linked to individual well-being and social exclusion (McNaughton, 2007). Multi-dimensional solutions are therefore needed and must include measures to overcome structural, behavioural and health related adversities.

Employment opportunities are particularly important, McNaughton (2005) suggests, since for many homeless people it is the point at which they gain meaningful employment which they later identify as the point at which they escaped homelessness. However, given some of the health related causes which effect many of the GN's homeless, employment is not a viable option for everyone since the

pressures can lead to relapse into addiction and thus multi-agency, ongoing support is required (McNaughton, 2005; Teasdale, 2009).

One of the most high profile and successful projects which provides both employment opportunity and ongoing support is the International Network of Street Newspapers (INSP). It empowers 14,000 homeless vendors in 41 countries across the globe (INSP, 2011a). Street newspapers are independent publications which provide employment opportunities for people experiencing poverty and homelessness by allowing them (the vendors) to buy copies at cover price sell them and keep the profit. Critically, in addition to the employment aspect of the INSP, the network offers support and in the interaction between homeless vendors and the buyer's, social capital and self-esteem are developed (Sherry, 2010). This partnership approach is critical and the service provision for the homeless has become increasingly sophisticated at supporting addiction and health issues as well as developing longitudinal educational and training strategies and creating job opportunities.

For solutions to be effective and impactful there is also the need for governmental involvement since policy and legislation demand change. In Scotland homelessness was placed high on the political agenda by the devolved government (Anderson, 2007) and is worth briefly considering since Scotland is home to both case studies at the heart of this thesis.

A Homelessness Task Force reported in 2002 after which the Scottish Executive pledged that every person would be entitled to permanent accommodation by 2012 (Scottish Government, 2002). In doing so Scotland left ahead of any country in the developed world (The Guardian, 2013), yet homelessness remains. That it does is

partly due to changes to the homelessness legislation led by the Homelessness (Abolition of Priority Need Test) (Scotland) Order 2012, which resulted in the removal of the priority needs test which in effect relinquished Executive decision making to the local authorities. Other factors contributed too: although there was multi-agency emphasis to support re-settlement, this initiative was a housing led approach (Anderson, 2007) despite some suggestions that in fact unemployment and not housing created homelessness in Scotland (Kemp, Lynch and Mackay, 2001: 4). Therefore there needs to be more emphasis on the promotion of accessible jobs within social inclusion policies (Webster, 2000) if solutions are to be effective.

While housing may only be part of the solution in the GN, it has been suggested it is the primary solution to homelessness in the GS (Vestbro, 2008; Kenny 2012). This may take the form of slum upgrading and slum prevention which are two solutions commonly used to tackle the urbanisation of poverty (Conin and Guthrie, 2011). These authors suggest that approaching solutions from the bottom up through community based, participatory type projects is more successful in engaging and understanding the needs of communities than government led 'top down' approaches which, although quicker, are less successful.

Indeed such notions of community based engagement and drive re-occurs throughout this thesis and there exists a growing sense of their importance to this narrative about sport and capability. The capability approach recognises community participation as a desirable functioning (Sen, 1999: 75) and I suggest that through the expansion of a homeless persons capabilities in such 'bottom up' solutions, both personal and community outcomes are reached. Furthermore, I suggest that sport may have a role to play in this and this is explored later in this thesis.

In addition to housing, secondary solutions such as the construction of public spaces in cities have also been suggested as helpful to the homelessness of the GS (Davis, 2006). However, both housing solutions and the construction of public spaces are limited in that they are simply structural approaches which ignore wider social and economic problems. The UN highlight that urbanisation without the concurrent development of social and employment opportunities creates an unsustainable environment which in turn causes inequalities and a bigger gap between rich and poor (UN, 2009). As an effective solution to GS homelessness a two tiered approach is advocated in which the slums are cleared and better housing built, prior to the provision of support such as health and education (Conin and Guthrie, 2011). Kenny (2012) goes further, suggesting that slums could actually be a driver of development if leaders stopped considering them as a problem to be cleared and start looking at them as a population to be serviced. Indeed it has been suggested that the most significant limiter of progress in slums is the lack of political will to address the problems (Davis, 2006). Thus, once again, we return to solutions tied to notions of what is politically acceptable, and this is wholly unacceptable.

Because of this emerging diversity, it is useful to think of homelessness, not as a problem solved by housing or employment or support, but by the development of people. In considering poverty, homelessness and freedom, Evangelista (2010) suggests the need to help the homeless overcome addictions and personal problems, or in other words: develop their capabilities. All homeless people have neither the freedom nor the capability to live the sort of life considered essential as a basic human right, far less a life they value. They are not free in terms of capabilities, or in their choice which is based on limited opportunities (Evangelista, 2010). This notion of choice is important as it can be understood as an expression of agency and a

commitment to a “normal” identity (Parsell, 2012) and there exists the need to ensure the homeless have access to choice since, homeless people living in identical shelter situations and for ostensibly similar reasons, might require different responses to support them escape homelessness (Speak, 2012).

In concluding this consideration of some perspectives on homelessness it is important to highlight the extent to which homelessness is a symptom of poverty and therefore inextricably linked to inequality and exclusion. As such, holistic, multi-faceted approaches, involving partnerships and recognising the interplay between both structural and behavioural facets is required if homeless solutions are to be created for both the GN and GS (Kemp, Lynch and Mackay, 2001, Clapham, 2003). Implicit in understanding this multidimensionality is the notion of pathways and indeed of all the perspectives or ways of thinking about poverty, it is the notions of pathways which resonate strongest for this thesis and which are now considered in this next section.

5.3 Pathways into and out of Homelessness

That homelessness is multidimensional suggests that more than one factor creates or solves it and so pathways may more accurately account for these multiple dimensions, entry and exit points. Indeed, understanding homelessness as both formed and overcome on pathways is now supported by a growing body of evidence (Mallett, Rosenthal and Keys, 2005; Johnson, Gronda, and Coutts, 2008; Chamberlain and Johnson, 2013; Fitzpatrick, Bramley and Johnsen, 2013). Pathways overcome what Somerville (2013) criticises as the “new orthodoxy” that purports to explain homelessness in terms of a combination of structural and individual factors, suggesting that although notions of pathways are inherently fuzzy, they are potentially useful.

Different authors suggest different types and different nomenclature for pathways. These reflect the socio-economic, geo-political forces impacting upon it. Harding, Irving and Whowell (2011) identified two distinct pathways into homelessness which they classified as a 'lifelong' pathway and a 'life events' pathway, while Tipple (2000) classified homeless people as either in a temporary 'short-term crisis' caused by a disruptive episode such as losing their job or separation from a partner, or as suffering from chronic exclusion in which homelessness appears to be more persistent in their life. These persistent homeless Tipple (2000) notes, tend to suffer from addiction, health or mental illness issues as well as difficulties with employment and housing and thus their situation is much more complex.

More recently Chamberlain and Johnson (2013) identified five typical pathways into adult homelessness: (i) housing crisis, (ii) family breakdown, (iii) substance abuse, (iv) mental health and, (v) youth to adult. In a similar vein, Fitzpatrick, Bramley and Johnsen (2013) identified five, what they called, 'experiential clusters' within multiple exclusion homelessness (MEH) in seven UK cities: (i) substance misuse, (ii) institutional care, (iii) street culture activities, (iv) adverse life events and, (v) childhood trauma. All of these definitions are useful in emphasising that homelessness is likely to be the result of both the individual and the societal factors, implicit within which is the process of loss of physical housing *and* the personal and social consequences which accompany it. Thus understanding homelessness as a pathway is particularly useful in its account for individual routes along this pathway, or rather, routes into and out of homelessness are unique and personal in nature. Although commonalities exist within and between different pathway perspectives, there is no single cause or solution to homelessness, nor any consensus, and it is for

these reasons in particular that understanding homelessness within the capability approach is helpful.

Pathways into and out of homelessness suggest a continuum and enables the discourse to convey the processional aspects of routes into and out of homelessness. Doing so highlights that there are in fact also many states and stages of homelessness to consider, and earlier in this chapter the role of a traumatic childhood in causing homelessness became clear, with Fitzpatrick, Bramley and Johnston (2013) suggesting this is commonly associated with complex forms of MEH. Other suggested routes into poverty range from Watson and Austerberry's (1986) proposal that homelessness exists in the context of two poles: having a stable home and being homeless, to Jahiel's (1987) suggestion there exists a scale from *benign* homelessness which is a short period that causes little hardship, to the more serious *malign* homelessness which causes great hardship and can be very difficult to overcome.

Stephens and Fitzpatrick (2007) develop the idea of pathways further by proposing that intervention and support at critical times may actually avoid many cases of homelessness and indeed a more recent paradigm shift in international homeless policies towards prevention (Mackie, 2015) connects closely to this temporal understanding. This is important and has been further developed more recently by Fitzpatrick, Bramley and Johnston (2013) who illuminate that temporal sequencing of MEH is consistent with substance misuse and mental health problems occurring early in an individual's pathway into homelessness, while a range of adverse life events typically occur later. These researchers concluded that this inferred that they are the *consequences* and not the *causes* of MEH.

Research also suggests that within individual pathways, those suffering from a housing crisis, unfortunate circumstances or life events such as family breakdown do not typically get drawn into the homeless subculture or accept that this is their way of life and thus are likely to only experience short term homelessness (Chamberlain and Johnson, 2013; Harding, Irving and Whowell, 2011). Understanding pathway trends such as these are important since, whilst classifications may be a good indicator of *how* people become homeless, it has been suggested that they are no longer useful in differentiating *between* homeless people once they became homeless (Harding, Irving and Whowell, 2011). These trends may be further compromised or limited in their applicability as they mainly speak to those from the GN. Yet, in this chapter we have come to understand it is those in the GS who experience extreme homelessness and although it may be possible to consider the rural – urban ‘urbanisation of poverty’ as a pathway, this is restricted in its applicability and more research is required in this area.

Limitations aside, homelessness as a pathway is important to this thesis because it may be better able to describe individual routes into and out of homelessness. This makes it useful in understanding the life stories of the marginalised and vulnerable individuals interviewed within the case studies. Furthermore, as it infers the development of different capabilities at different stages and which enable different personal freedoms to be achieved, notions of pathways enable more advanced understanding of the expansion of capabilities of the street soccer participants within the studies.

5.4 Homeless and Sport

In chapter four the myriad of ways in which sport contributes to overcoming poverty were explored at length. I believe that sport has a similar role to play not only in helping the homeless in an immediate sense, but that it possesses the potential to be a significant contributor to long term solutions towards homelessness.

The existing connections between sport and homelessness are tenuous and there exists a dearth of literature which considers homelessness and sport. Analysis of broader source material provides evidence of the possibilities. Recently the news headline “*Homeless Sierra Leone athlete Jimmy Thoronka arrested.*” (BBC, 2015) reported how the 100m sprinter did not return home following competing at the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow during 2014. While at the Games, Jimmy lost his family to the Ebola virus and his home country was declared a public health emergency, so instead of returning home, Jimmy chose to sleep rough in the UK where he became another homeless statistic. In escaping potential death in Sierra Leone to become homeless in the UK, Jimmy’s story is clearly not one of the power of sport to offer hope, but in highlighting the severity and desperation of the situation he faced and the choices he subsequently made, its message is important nonetheless.

A more positive example of sport’s potential to ameliorate the effects of homelessness is that of the acclaimed Mathare Youth Sports Association in Nairobi, Kenya which utilises sport, art, education and community service to better the lives of the Mathare slum dwellers. Earlier on this thesis introduced the work of MYSA (2015:1) and most recent figures (2015) show that there are over 25,000 members engaged with it:

“Mathare Youth Sports Association ‘giving youth a sporting chance on and off the field’. All MYSA activities are linked by a system of points. You get points for playing in matches, taking part in clean-ups, attending an HIV/AIDS awareness sessions and volunteering as

a referee or a coach for other teams. The points go towards your team's ranking in the league.

You can also earn leadership points for taking part in an activity. These points are part of our leadership awards scheme, which gives education scholarships to our most active and enthusiastic members.”

Although not explicitly stated, the inclusion of community service within the MYSA means that it helps slum life in numerous ways: structurally, through upgrading the living conditions and, behaviourally through the emotional and physical support individuals receive. Crucially, as the project has grown it has evolved to provide jobs, either directly in the project itself or indirectly through the community links to external organisations and through the educational opportunities offered by the programme (MYSA, 2015).

Evidence of this development suggests community based and community building projects are the most effective solutions as they enable participants to engage in creative and learning activities (including volunteering), feel part of a community, and have constructive relationships with family and/or friends (Smith et al, 2008).

This supports the notion that sport, which among other things is a ‘creative and learning’ activity, may be part of homeless solutions and given the enhanced potential of sport for community building, it is proposed in this thesis that cooperative and team orientated sports are potentially the most effective and should be promoted for use as part of solutions.

One of the global pioneers of this is the *Homeless World Cup*, which is an organisation aimed at ‘beating homelessness through football’ (HWC, 2011a) and which forms the focus of one of the case studies in this thesis. Other similar projects targeting the homeless have also emerged in the UK, for example: *Sport for All* was a

three years project designed to increase access to sport for homeless people in a sustainable way. It embraced the inclusionary and holistically supportive aspects of sport, including its abilities to create pathways into education, training and employment as well as build confidence, skills and social networks, and in doing so recognised the value sport could provide in helping homeless people (Homeless Organisation, 2013). Part of its legacy was the creation of *The Homeless FA*, England's national football charity and an organisation designed in order to allow every homeless person in England the opportunity to positively transform their lives (Homeless FA, 2013).

Just as with poverty, there is therefore a growing sense that sport has something to do with effective solutions to homelessness. By considering both sport and homelessness through a capability perspective as this thesis does, there becomes less of a need to quantifiably justify that sport has a role to play. Instead sport as capabilities is understood as an intrinsic part of the solution and critical to the development of individual capability sets. The questions turn from *why* sport, to *which* sport and whether it is *sport plus* or *plus sport* or simply *sport*. The capability approach has the potential to strengthen the place of sport in global solutions and by adhering to the mantra of 'expansion of capabilities', sport has the potential to ensure solutions are understood as not simply the short term infrastructure or economic boosts but rather as the sustainable long-term development of people.

In its individualism, the capability approach enables methodologies which listen to the voice of the poor themselves and acts upon their particular needs, desires and what they actually value. Sport in this sense is a platform for the homeless to be heard. It is also a springboard upon which they expand their capabilities to enable them to progress out of homelessness to lead a life they truly value.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the complexities and multidimensionality of the homeless have become clear. Homelessness is the extreme face of poverty and in echoes of the poverty discourse, it may similarly be thought about in many different ways as it is influenced by both socio-economic and geo-political factors.

Traditional thinking has evolved over the last century from ‘sin talk’ to ‘system talk’ to ‘sick talk’, all against the backdrop of increasing global homelessness. More recently two ways of thinking about homelessness have emerged, both of which are particularly influential and useful to this thesis: (i) that homelessness exists on a pathway which is neither common to all nor linear in nature (Chamberlain and Johnson, 2013; Harding, Irving and Whowell, 2011; Somerville, 2013) and, (ii) homelessness is a problem which may be solved by the development of people, not housing (Evangelista, 2010). These inform the case studies and analysis which are considered in the following chapters.

As this theoretical review of the social aspects of sport and how in particular they relate to poverty, homelessness, sport and capability reaches its conclusion it has emerged that: (i) poverty and homelessness continue to exist as the most debilitating of global social problems, and (ii) sport can have a role at least in their amelioration and possibly even a more significant and sustainable role in ending them. What follows now in chapters 6 through 9, is the original research which considers this potential of sport as understood within a capability approach.

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the contextual background of the two case studies central to this thesis. Following these introductory comments, the chapter begins by introducing the Homeless World Cup (HWC) and Street Soccer (Scotland) (SSS), charting the origin and growth of each as well as their relationship to one another. In charting their growth, the respective roles of each as vehicles of social enterprise and examples of SDP are considered. Finally, this chapter concludes with some summarising remarks about how their roles may be understood through the prism of the capability approach. Before this contextual analysis commences, it is pertinent to briefly clarify precisely what street soccer is, since football and street soccer have multiple interpretations which are geo-culturally influenced.

6.1.1 What is Street Soccer?

Unqualified, the word *football* may be understood as referring to “various forms of team game involving kicking (and in some cases handling) a ball, in particular (in the UK) soccer” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2015). The football referred to in this thesis is Association Football as it is known in the UK and I use this term (football) interchangeably with street soccer when referring to the work of SSS since while, the HWC is specifically a street soccer tournament, the forms of football used by SSS vary and include both association football and street soccer.

Street soccer encompasses a number of varieties and styles of association football and can take a number of forms and adaptations (ISSA, 2015). The version played at the HWC is a 4 a-side version played in a 22 by 16 metre enclosed field, with 110

centimetre boards which serve to both enclose the pitch and ensure a high tempo of play. Teams are permitted a maximum of 8 players, 4 of whom are allowed on court at once, with rolling substitutions allowed throughout the duration of each 15 minute game (two 7 minute half's split by 1 minute half time) (HWC, 2011f).

6.1.2 An Introduction to HWC and SSS

Both the HWC and SSS use soccer (football) as a social tool. While this is not new as forms of football have long been evident in SDP projects (Tacon, 2007; Beutler, 2008; Cwik, 2008; Kidd, 2008; Levermore, 2008, 2011; Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011), what differentiates the HWC and SSS from other examples is their role as engines of social and economic enterprise.

The Homeless World Cup is an international street soccer tournament for the one billion homeless people across the globe (HWC, 2011a). Its purpose is to promote opportunities for to help these individuals and communities to overcome the myriad of social difficulties they face. The HWC (2011b) started in 2003 as an annual tournament:

“The Homeless World Cup is a unique, pioneering social enterprise which exists to end homelessness. It uses football to energise homeless people to change their own lives”.

It uses street soccer as the point of connection through which broader objectives can be achieved, from simplistic social interactions to more complex, targeted social objectives. Through doing so the HWC aims to help nations and communities develop sustainable social enterprises and long term solutions to the problem of homelessness.

The HWC was started by community leaders from the INSP Street Newspaper network. Originally conceived as an annual tournament, it has since grown to a network of 70 national partners and in the process, evolved to support its partner nations not only in the development of street soccer and/or football, but also in sustainable programmes designed to have a positive impact on the lives of the homeless and excluded around the world (HWC, 2013a).

The HWC claims to have impacted on over 250,000 people, many of whom have benefited because of this evolution from an annual tournament to an organisation which works year round in supporting a global network of football projects linked to social enterprise and the holistic support of homeless participants, including the provision of education, employment, health and legal services (HWC, 2013b).

Since the first HWC in 2003, it has been something of a phenomenon; growing rapidly from a small tournament to a global leader in its field. This is all the more laudable as, in contrast to the work of global organisations such as FIFA or the UN, the HWC was the innovation of a relatively small scale social enterprise. Part of the reason for this growth lies in the creation of a global network of social enterprises, built on mirroring the INSP blueprint. One of these is Street Soccer (Scotland).

SSS (2014a) was started six years after the HWC in 2009, by a former HWC player:

David Duke. Its mission is to:

“...provide a range of grassroots street soccer programmes and events at local and national levels that focus on engaging, coaching and supporting participants, as well as delivering social, educational and Personal Development programmes in partnership with relevant agencies”

Thus, SSS similarly uses street soccer as well as football in various forms to reach its social objectives. But where the HWC is concerned with connecting and supporting local partners, SSS is focussed on the delivery and implementation of programmes throughout the year. As Scotland's HWC partner, SSS is also responsible for the selection, training and administration of Scotland's annual representative teams for the HWC tournament.

6.2 HWC: Origins and Growth

The genesis of the HWC can be traced back to 1993 and the Big Issue street newspaper which was the start of a solution for homelessness (Young, 2005). The crucial feature of the Big Issue, Young (2005: 4) emphasises was that it is sold *by* homeless people *for* homeless people in order to provide:

“...a hand up, not a hand-out... A vital part of this transaction, when the homelessness and the ‘have’ world connect. It is the briefest of moments when society acknowledges the presence of the vendor and their attendant problems. They are no longer invisible and a tiny bridge is built...the more connections that are made, the more likely real change will take place.”

The notion of a socially excluded group achieving the opportunity for enterprise and social mobility by selling a newspaper seemed simple, yet they worked uniquely and successfully together to help alleviate poverty (Young, 2005). By the mid 1990's the Big Issue had sales reaching over 400,000 a week and by 1994 its global growth was such that the International Network of Street Papers (INSP) was formed, with 16 newspapers the initial signatories to the Street Paper Charter. A decade later (2005) this network had grown to 42 papers across the world, with a combined annual sale of nearly 2.5 million; by 2008 there were almost 100 papers in 40 nations (Street

News Service, 2011), and growth steadily continued: by 2011 there were 122 street papers from 41 countries sold through a network of 14,000 homeless vendors to an annual audience of 6 million (INSP, 2011a).

Understanding this street newspaper movement is important to the history of the HWC. Not simply because the Big Issue is the original social enterprise for homeless people, but because the INSP played a crucial role in creating the HWC and a strong partnership between the INSP and HWC continues to this day (INSP, 2011b). Mel Young was one of the founders of the Big Issue in Scotland and later co-founded the HWC and as he describes (2005: 8):

“In the INSP movement I could see the potential for creating a major change in thinking towards tackling poverty on a global scale.”

Indeed, it was the INSP annual conference in 2002 which provided the inspiration and catalyst for the HWC (INSP, 2011b), with the ‘can do’ atmosphere of the conferences sustaining delegates through the coming year and inspiring HWC co-founders Mel Young, Harald Schmied and Peter Ten Caat to hold an annual event which would similarly invigorate the street vendors themselves (Young, 2005).

This connection to the ISNP network is interesting in the context of this thesis on another level. This model of social enterprise speaks directly to one of the problems highlighted by critics of Sen, such as O’Hearn (2009:10):

“Sen proposes that development is driven by capitalism with good values: transparency, where folks can be trusted to do what they say they will do, decent behavioural ethics...Yet he provides no theory of where such ethics originate...”

This thesis proposes that sport, ethical sport, is precisely where such ‘decent behavioural ethics’ can originate and in doing so suggests that sport offers a solution in the implementation of Sen’s theory. In the connection between sport and social, as well as economic enterprise, the HWC seems to demonstrate a model in which ‘ethical capitalism’, economic growth and development may be reached. Indeed the annual tournament has also evolved to become a modern day market place for the homeless player / entrepreneur and the evidence from the research conducted in Paris 2011 highlighted an array of hand-made merchandise from cards to crafts and jewellery being sold by many of the teams and players (Appendix 4).

6.3 From the HWC to SSS: A Four Day Event to 365 day Social Enterprise

Eighteen countries took part in the inaugural 2003 HWC which was held in Graz, Austria, where more than 20,000 spectators watched 109 matches (Magee, 2011). Inspired by the social enterprise germane to its creation, the focus of the tournament was social inclusion and integration and on its conclusion co-founder Young (2005: 49) reported:

“Our main objective had been achieved. We had proved that sport could provide the basis for social integration. There is no doubt in my mind, therefore, that we had to try and expand these initial successes. It had worked. And people’s lives had changed.”

This success led to its expansion the following year in Gothenburg. The number of nations competing grew to 26 and this growth has continued. By the 2011 tournament in Paris, the number of nations participating had increased to 48, with an additional 16 women’s teams competing for the Women’s HWC. By this time the HWC had also developed from an annual event to an international network of local

partners working to alleviate poverty and homelessness, and engaging: “...over 30,000 homeless players a year to change their lives” (HWC, 2011c).

The growth and success of the HWC was reflected in other ways too. In addition to the tournament, Paris 2011 also hosted the first international symposium to be held concurrently with an annual HWC tournament. Its purpose was to bring together the personal experiences of struggle against exclusion in order to bring about positive changes and solutions (CRJ, 2011). In engaging both participants and a wider audience, this demonstrated the drive of the HWC to initiate global change and end homelessness.

More recent figures demonstrate this continuing pattern of growth. By 2013 the number of participating teams had risen to 50, although there was a reduced women’s cohort, with only 8 women only teams participating, and the most recent 2014 HWC in Santiago, Chile had a total of 54 teams entered: 42 into the HWC and 12 competing for the Women’s HWC (HWC, 2015).

Whilst such quantitative analysis is somewhat the antithesis to the understanding sought within this thesis, these figures are worthy of consideration and demonstrate the various ways in which the HWC is understood as well as how it has grown. Long et al (2002) identified 3 levels at which it is possible to evaluate the success of a project: milestones (meeting requirements of funders), outputs (short term products such as numbers of participants) and outcomes (the longer term changes in the lives of participants and communities). Given the HWC’s status as a social enterprise, assessment against the targets of funding agents (milestones) is less applicable, however its success could be considered in terms of both its outputs and outcomes.

Outcomes clearly have something to do with the capability approach and as such are significant to this thesis. The HWC cites that over 70% of participants improve their lives as a result of the tournament (HWC, 2011c: 2), an outcome which this research seeks to understand in terms of precisely what these longer term changes are, as elucidated by capabilities and freedoms in the sense that Sen (1999) uses them.

Although concern with outputs is not the focus of this thesis, they are worthy of comment. Historical participation rates illuminate some interesting anomalies. For instance, five nations who competed in Paris 2011 did not enter the tournament in Mexico 2012: Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Nigeria, Palestine and Spain, while Wales, who played in previous HWC's, but not in Paris 2011, returned to play in Mexico 2012. HWC International Partnership Manager, Deb Ball (23/3/2012) attributed these fluctuations to a variety of reasons:

“We always have more teams wishing to play than we have space for – so sometimes a team does not appear because we do not have the space, or they do not have the financial resources to attend. Australia did not play in Rio as they were in an internal process of reorganisation. Kenya are not entered into the Mexico event due to internal Homeless World Cup policies that were breached in Paris...”

This breach was that not all the team returned to Kenya at the end of the HWC, and the rules prohibit the participation of a nation the following year if such breaches occur. This is not uncommon at International sporting events as the earlier example of Jimmy Thoronka illustrated, although it is a problem which the HWC must be particularly vigilant of given the difficulties associated with accessing passports and visas for homeless people (Ball, 23/3/2012). In hosting tournaments in (largely) affluent cities such as Melbourne, Rio, Milan and Paris, it may be suggested the HWC increase the likelihood of runaways. Yet, through the lens of the capability

approach, this may be understood differently: as the expansion of capabilities whereby for the homeless participants, the annual tournament becomes a window to the opportunities and possibilities within the world.

Fluctuations in participation between nations and years therefore seem to speak to the complex interactions and, despite some annual changes in the nations participating, the overall output of the HWC demonstrates continued growth. Similarly, steady evolution has occurred in parallel to this growth, where there exists local (UK) evidence of the evolution of the HWC from tournament to global network supporting grassroots development.

For example, in 2003, there were not any formal street soccer leagues in Wales but just one year later, organised street football was beginning to be established and over 60 people attended the training sessions leading up to the 2004 HWC (Street Football Wales, 2011a). This growth continued: by 2010, Wales had a street soccer league in which 12 team participated (Street Football Wales, 2011b), and by 2014 this had grown to 40 teams participating in 4 centres across Wales (Street Football Wales, 2014). Similar local growth is evident across the globe. For instance, selection for the team to represent Mexico in the 2010 Homeless World Cup involved 990 teams or 6,100 homeless players from across the 32 states of Mexico (Young, 2010), a scale which further substantiates the success of both the HWC and local partners in terms of output and growth.

Co-founder Mel Young (2005: 123) traces this expanding remit from annual tournament into what may be better described as a ‘social movement’ to a speech by former US President Bill Clinton in 2004 in which he challenged global institutions

to create systems which would allow successful small local projects to be replicated throughout the world and challenged local partners to look to the world:

“We needed to build a very small global infrastructure which allowed individual projects in cities and countries in the world to grow and expand. So, we would concentrate on marketing the HWC but it would only be the tip of the iceberg because, underneath the surface, individual projects would be operating in different cities around the world, all connected through the HWC.”

By 2009, the HWC formalised this evolution by becoming a foundation: The Homeless World Cup Foundation and employing a team of staff to drive and support this local work (Ball, 23/3/2012). These personnel extend to 7 members of staff who work alongside Mel Young to support the delivery of both the grass roots projects which combined street soccer with social enterprise and the annual HWC tournament (Ball, 23/3/2012). Thus the HWC and its global network as a social movement was born.

6.4 SSS Origins and Growth

One such global partner is Street Soccer (Scotland). Started in 2009 by David Duke, who remains Chief Executive to this day (2015), this is a particularly interesting example because David's journey and that of the HWC are entwined together in a demonstration of its power and potential. A former HWC player himself, I interviewed David as part of this research in his capacity as manager of the Scottish Women's team in 2011. During his interview, his remarkable story unfolded and in charting SSS's origins and growth it is perhaps most fitting to allow David (28/8/2011) to tell his story:

“My name's David Duke, I'm the current women's manager for the Scotland women's homeless world cup team. I got involved with the

HWC back in 2004 as a player. I was living in a young person's homeless project, eh, after I'd had my life turned upside down following the death of my father and stuff like that, I was drinking loads and ended up in a hostel. So I was in a hostel. Back in 2004 I was living in a young person's homeless project and I seen an advert for the HWC and I dragged myself out of bed and went along to the trials. At the time I was just kind of, I wasn't doing anything positive really; I was just sitting about feeling sorry for myself. I'd cut myself off from a lot of people and the boredom of having nothing to do led to drinking more than you should of, your poor diet, poor sleeping times and stuff. Football gave me a way out. I managed to, once I'd been selected, I started getting out more and I started going jogging and stuff like that. I was doing team training in the build up to the WC in Sweden and I kind of, I seen a wee bit of a chance and I wanted to do it, if I was getting this one opportunity I wanted to give it my best shot. So that helped in that way.

So I went to the tournament and it was a great experience. We got to the semi's and then meeting all the different people from all over the world kind of opened my eyes to, you know something, my life isn't really that bad, once you realise that some of the problems that the African nations are facing and South Americans. So, I had a great time at the event, came back to kind of the same life that I'd had, it kind of all stopped. Fortunately, I'd registered to be a volunteer in Active Glasgow and I managed to get onto their programme where I could go and volunteer with a local boys club while I did my coaching badges. I did that and then an opportunity came up with the Big Issue, who ran the HWC team at the time, to become an assistant coach as a voluntary position. So I went for that and I got it and that got me back involved in the HWC.

While I was doing that, em, I'd got my house by then, I'd managed to get myself a flat, I was coaching 3 nights a week with a boys club, learning and then I worked under Ally Dawson who's the men's team manager just now (2011 tournament), he was my coach back then, so I worked under him and volunteered a lot of time with him and learned off him, then went to college. Then I went to college because I wanted to get involved in sport but also because, I'd never been career minded, I'd never done my standard grades or anything, em, so I went away to college and done a community work qualification, an HNC in working with communities, knowing that the kind of work. I wanted to do an element of community work capacity building as well as football. So I done my coaching badges out with that and then I gained my HNC and that allowed me to get a job, a couple of part times jobs working as a youth worker before I got a full time job with the Big Issue, working as a vendor support worker, so working with the Big Issue vendors and stuff like that.

Such is the success of David's story he is now also widely recognised as a leader in his field where he is involved in shaping the battle against homelessness nationally and internationally. Indeed, David is a role model of an emerging pattern of participation identified by Ball (23/3/2012) in which former HWC players progress to assume multiple roles as they re-engage in sport: from players, to coaching, managers and volunteers or advance further in other aspects of life.

David's story emphasises another important aspect of the HWC too: the importance of hearing the voices of the participants themselves. Where before he was voiceless, faceless and homeless, his voice is now heard by a broad audience as David works closely with government, national sports administrations, charities and housing associations to help create positive social change (SSS, 2014c). In recognition of this he has been named The Sunday Times 'Change Maker' of the Year in 2012, and awarded an Honorary Doctorate by Edinburgh's Queen Margaret University. SSS have been similarly recognised, and are recipients of awards from both the football and business industries (SSS, 2014b) and such in accolades the growing awareness of social enterprise as positive social change is demonstrated.

The influence David had on the development of this thesis is also worthy of mention at this juncture. Hearing his voice, helped inform the need for the follow up research (second case study) with a local street soccer enterprise, and indeed David was central to the selection of SSS as this second case study.

Returning to the origins and development of SSS (2014c), its purpose is similar to that of the HWC:

“...a non-profit social enterprise which uses football to help create positive change in the lives of socially disadvantaged adults and

young people...to address issues including health, social exclusion and education.”

It provides drop in and national league football programmes, as well as support services to over 5000 people throughout Scotland. Through its network of centres and tournaments it is also responsible for the teams which represent Scotland in the HWC. The core value of SSS is fair play, which is upheld in all 5 of its key areas of its work: (i) empowerment, (ii) teamwork, (iii) support, (iv) diversity, and (v) working together (SSS, 2015a).

6.5 HWC and SSS: Partnerships and Connections

Part of the reach and impact of SSS and the HWC is their ability to deliver diverse services as a result of the broad range of partnerships they engage with. Where the HWC partners with the global network of local enterprises, they have in turn partnered with providers of education, health and housing services, all of which are vital to the development of capabilities and critical to homeless people. An example of this is SSS’ Football Works programme which is linked to Dunedin Canmore housing group and supported by Edinburgh College and Foresquare Scotland, bridging the gap between mainstream employability and support services (SSS, 2015b).

This pattern of growing networks and creating partnerships is evident regardless of whether the local organisation is from the GN or GS. The pattern is however nuanced and varied since, just as differences exist in the ways poverty and homelessness are experienced between these global regions, so too differences emerge in terms of: (i) their self-sufficiency to be able to create partnerships and, (ii) in the types of partnership they make. Where evidence of the SSS (GN) example highlighted an

extensive list of partnerships which had been formed through David Duke and his SSS staff, it was apparent this was not straightforward in the GS. In response, the HWC Foundation had created the position of International Partnership Manager to assist street soccer enterprises in the GS (Ball, 23/3/2012). Further, where the GN example of SSS illuminated partnerships connected to housing, education and rehabilitation, evidence from the GS suggested a focus more connected to the promotion of (economic) enterprise:

“So we have provided them with a training home, coaching, football coaching, but this time now after 2008, we are now discovering new phenomenon’s of opening up vocational work, interpretation, using football as a tool for development .”

(Patricio, 26/8/2011)

“My life has completely changed because I’m able to sustain myself buying food and things.”

(FP3/M/GS, 26/8/2011)

Regardless of regional nuances, the cumulative benefits of the partnerships fostered and developed at both global and local level by street soccer enterprises is the creation of an expanding global network which on the one level links street soccer participants to community service providers and on the next level provides global connections between local partners. In doing so, opportunities are created on multiple levels which facilitate the expansion of personal development as well as general community development for the homeless and disadvantaged.

Later in this thesis, this is understood as part of the narrative of the ways in which street soccer facilitates and impacts on the expansion of capabilities, but for now on a more basic level, the evidence of the HWC and SSS was that they formed the linking

and bonding capital critical to escaping poverty and in doing so concurred with the findings of Sherry's (2010) previous research.

It was not only through its support to the local networks that the HWC assists the growth and development of partnerships and connections. Evidence emerged of the importance and benefits of partnerships within the annual tournament too. During the research conducted in 2011 all participants had their needs supported beyond the street soccer itself through access to addiction and mental health support workers to name but two. It seems that, where other international sporting tournaments may have doctors, physiotherapists, analysts and psychologists on hand to help participants, the HWC connected to other health care providers and partners:

“We’re so fortunate that the people that are here and the support workers that are here as well. They’re involved in other charities and foundations that are all to do with homelessness and mental health issues and support workers as in, drugs and addictions. So a couple of the boys that are here went to an AA meeting here in Paris. They wanted to go because they had missed it back home so they went to a meeting in Paris and the support workers we have here help organise that kind of thing too.”

(CP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

Through the provision of access to these service partners, a level of personal support critical to the homeless players was found. In doing so, the evidence suggests the HWC is supporting the development of social, emotional and some very personal and specific needs (capabilities) of the players at the tournament. Through the interviews conducted at the 2011 tournament, these are further elucidated and are discussed in detail in the next chapter. Before this, it is necessary to continue this contextual framing of the two case studies which are the focus of this thesis by moving on to consider them as examples of SDP in action.

6.6 HWC and SSS: SDP in Action

Earlier in this thesis the field of SDP was introduced. SDP utilises sport as an interventionist tool to promote peace, reconciliation, and development throughout the world (Giulianotti, 2011). In their endeavours to overcome poverty, homelessness and their associated social problems, it is apparent that the HWC and SSS are good examples of SDP in action. The purposeful shift towards this occurred in 2009 when the HWC became a foundation. This reflected its evolution from tournament to global network using soccer as the hook to encourage development and social enterprise. Young (2005) reported only 5 countries from the inaugural 2003 event had street soccer programmes. More recent HWC (2014a) figures demonstrate this has grown:

“It supports grass-roots football programmes and social enterprise development via a network of 70 national partners...”

This signifies considerable development, the benefit of which is there now exists an international network of street leagues operating under the umbrella of the HWC Foundation and which are tangibly connected through the annual event. In doing so the philosophy underpinning the HWC has spread and opportunities for the development of social mobility for the poor and homeless have grown across the globe. All are connected by their potential to offer routes out of poverty and homelessness.

There is a danger that when relatively small scale organisations such as the HWC grow to such an extent, that the quality and philosophy upon which it was built are compromised. In 2003, the HWC seemed to operate on a very personal level with

and for homeless people. As we have seen, by 2011 it was operating on a far greater scale and had evolved to championing the cause of homeless people in secondary ways too.

Yet as the HWC approaches its 13th annual tournament in 2015, its integrity as an organisation focused on homeless people themselves remains central. This is evident in the emerging pattern and model of participation and which has something to say about the HWC as SDP. The pattern was alluded to earlier in this chapter and is one of continued involvement in which HWC players both begin and remain within the HWC ‘family’ through its local partner projects. The HWC is thus only a small part of the life changing experience for them. Players are seen to progress from being the homeless beneficiaries of the local enterprises such as SSS, to grow as people. Some are able to progress sufficiently to overcome their struggles and move on to become the coaches, managers and administrators driving local projects and are integral to helping the next generation of homeless and poor within these:

“Certainly what we’re seeing increasingly now is players who then go out into our coach education programme, and then they come back and coach the team...They’ve been homeless and then played at an event, got back, had a much stronger involvement with the project, moved on a bit in their lives but are putting back now. So that’s a great model, we really like that as a model.”

(Ball, 23/3/2012)

That I was able to interview 5 former players during the fieldwork at the HWC in 2011 was evidence in support of this. In its demonstration of a real and lasting impact, this is significant. In this thesis this cycle of re-involvement is understood by moving beyond presenting that it *does* happen to unearth the changes to an individual’s capabilities which *enable* this to happen and in doing so provides a unique capability perspective of life changes through SSS and the HWC.

This cycle is important because it hints at the sustainability and the longer term positive expansion of capabilities in both HWC and SSS participants. Questions of sustainability, so critical to the work of SDP at all levels and explicit in the UN's SDG's (UN, 2015), bring forth a conundrum which will be considered in this next section.

6.7 Growth and Sustainability: Selling It or Selling Out? A Capabilities Conundrum

In the sustainable growth of their organisations, both the HWC and SSS have sought to support their work through developing partnerships, including those linked to sponsors. Indeed, as earlier discussions highlighted, the need for partnerships is essential to achieving the objectives they both seek. Yet in some partners, particularly those who are sponsors, there arises moral and ethical questions which need to be understood because if, as Sen (1999) suggests, the capability approach is essentially concerned with ethical development, then to advocate either organisation as able to develop capabilities, the types of sponsor they are connected to need elucidated. This section will do this.

One of the purposes of the HWC is to raise awareness of the problem of homelessness and to present this to a wider global audience (HWC, 2012). Doing so demands a structure that can be sold to sponsors as well as the broader audience, and indeed the need to attract money to the HWC is essential to its success (Young, 2005). However, with sponsorship can come obligation, and Magee and Jeanes (2011) have argued the HWC has been compromised by the demands of sponsorship, whereby the global audience demands a competitive tournament when perhaps a non-competitive format may be more appropriate.

Demands aside, let us briefly consider the types of sponsor connected to the HWC. The inaugural HWC was sponsored by Nike, which may be illustrative of a dark side to sponsorship as Gilabert, (2012) suggests it can be the conduit to the global neo-liberal world which is at the core of poverty. While the public face of the Nike corporate brand promotes corporate social responsibility, a commitment it implements through its N7 Foundation aimed at improving social innovation and inclusion, this contrasts with the multinational face of Nike which enjoys profit at an alleged cost to local producers: exploitation in Indonesia, child labour in Pakistan, and health and safety conditions in Vietnam, are troubling within a framework of ethical development (Global Peace and Conflict, 2012) and are not aligned with a capabilities approach.

Implicit within these allegations is the suggestion that in fact the benefits gained by Nike's sponsorship of the inaugural HWC surpassed the benefit the HWC gained from the financial injection. This is reflective of the paradox faced by the HWC: to embrace lucrative support in order to instigate positive change and development or to maintain the high principles and ethics essential to development as freedom and reject support from corporate or political partners.

Eight years later at the time of this fieldwork in 2011, 28 sponsors were linked to the HWC, listed under the following categories: Global Changemakers, Major Partners, Media Partners, Strategic Partners, Bursary Team Supporters, Football Clubs and Suppliers (HWC, 2011d). By 2013, the HWC foundation had secured its first major partner in the form of Mexican Fundacion Telmex and by 2014, UEFA and Fundacion TELMEX were listed as the HWC's two 'game changing partners', with SPECSAVERS, CNN and ERHARD their three big sponsors and a further four supporters listed: BLPLAW, GLOBAL UNION, LOFT DIGITAL and HASSO

PLATTNER VENTURES (HWC, 2014). In these, the HWC is now connected to companies whose ethical stances have never been called to question and links to Nike are conspicuously absent.

There exists a notable homogeneity between these HWC sponsors: each has a policy of corporate social responsibility (CSR), although as the example of Nike illustrates, having a policy of CSR does not necessarily mean practice unilaterally complies. This suggests that the HWC now exercises caution when engaging sponsors. Giulianotti and Armstrong (2013) note CSR is central to the engagement of private donors within SDP and there emerged evidence of this in this research. I interviewed a group of 3 volunteers who had been permitted to work at the tournament because their employer had a commitment to CSR. They explained that a total of 30 employees from their company had been permitted time off in order to volunteer and of the experience one (V1, 27/8/2012) highlighted:

“...it’s very important because most of the time, nobody thinks of these people and it’s the first time we heard about something organised for homeless people. And another very important point for us is to think it’s an International event and in all our other work, independently from level of life of people, all the countries live with the same situation. So, we (our boss) was attracted by these points and we have decided to help the (HWC) organisation and we spoke with the company. The company was very interested by our action because of our social policies and helped us to speak with people to help and to be partner with the event and some of our colleagues, 30 people from our company, said ‘yes, yes, I want to come’ so we have organised a team and we have helped.”

There are notable global and local omissions to the list of sponsors connected to the HWC. World football governing body FIFA is not a partner, despite establishing their own Football for Hope project in conjunction with streetfootballworld in 2005 (FIFA, 2011). While I suggest this is less than optimal as the plight of homelessness

may have been better illuminated through connecting the HWC and FIFA, given FIFA's recent corruption troubles, then perhaps this distance between organisations serves the HWC well.

Disparity in support is also evident at a local level within the United Kingdom, where each of the home nations is supported by their own national football association with the exception of Scotland, who at the time of the fieldwork, continued to be ignored by the Scottish Football Association's (SFA) (Dawson, 28/8/2011). This despite Scotland being twice crowned HWC Champions and hosting the event in 2005 where, although the SFA 'gave their blessing' to hosting the event they notably did not contribute either financially or in kind (Young, 2005: 118).

These omissions convey part of the problem faced by the homeless participants: they remain faceless and forgotten in too many parts of our society. For this reason it is important that local as well as national governing bodies and associations begin to show support to the work of the HWC and its partners. That they can secure private sponsorship, but not the support of local NGB's is a scandal and I suggest that where CSR obliges private involvement, so too human rights obliges publically funded organisations to show both physical and moral support.

Young (2005) reported that between 2003 and 2004 the level of sponsorship for individual teams doubled and support to local partners is now commonplace. One example of this from the 2011 fieldwork was the Indian Slum Soccer teams (male and female). They were organised through HWC partner organisation KridaVikasSanstha Nagpur (KVSN) and sponsored by English Premiership Club Tottenham Hotspur Football Club. In a long term association with the Indian project, Tottenham Hotspur Football Club financed the teams, provided coaching expertise,

training facilities for a pre-competition camp in London as well as playing kit for the 2011 tournament (Abhijeet, 28/8/2011).

SSS cite connection to partners across four categories: (i) community and social, (ii) private sector and corporate, (iii) sport, and (iv) education and personal development (SSS, 2014d). In doing so they appear to have achieved the goal of sustainability and growth without engaging (capitalist) multi-national companies and as such, in a manner more aligned to the parameters of the capability approach. More recently, and perhaps as a reflection of SSS's success and growth, their web site lists connection to The Royal Bank of Scotland among its partners and sponsors (SSS, 2015b). This most recent connection highlights once again the difficulty such organisations face and if development as freedom is to be more than simply aspiration, then sponsors need to be philosophically and operationally aligned to this as well.

6.8 Player Eligibility

As this contextual background and review nears its conclusion, it is valuable to begin to divert focus towards the homeless participants themselves and who are central to this thesis. Understanding who is eligible to play in the HWC is therefore important. Player eligibility speaks to the notions of homeless pathways which emerged in chapter 5 and will become important to the context of the findings in this thesis.

To be eligible to participate in the HWC, participants must be either homeless, or have recently been homeless and faced the social problems associated with this. Specifically, the HWC requires participating nations to adhere to the mandatory selection criteria: all players must be at least 16 and have never taken part in a

previous HWC. In addition to this, HWC (2011f) stipulates players must then meet at least one of 3 conditions (for eligibility to 2011 HWC):

“Have been homeless at some point after 01.08.2010, in accordance with the national definition of homelessness

Make their main living income as street paper vendor

Asylum seekers currently without positive asylum status or who were previously asylum seekers but obtained residency status after 01.08.2010

Currently in drug or alcohol rehabilitation and also have been homeless at some point in the past two years (post 01.08.2009)”

Although governed by these rules, the selection criteria for each nation are the responsibility of the nation itself. While logistics may impose this need, it is far from ideal, as it leaves the potential for a disparity between nations. Indeed evidence emerged during the fieldwork that the Indian women’s team was in fact represented not by homeless players but by well educated girls from stable family homes. I explored this during an interview with their manager (Vigi, 28/8/2011) who confirmed:

“They are middle classes family background, they are middle class.”

This presents a moral dilemma which parallels the sponsorship narrative: is the socially inclusive philosophy designed to enable marginalised groups to participate really implemented as intended? Evidence of the Indian women’s delegation in Paris 2011 suggests not and in doing so returns to the evidence presented in chapter 4 which highlighted the need to end corruption if aid and support is to reach its target audience without being misappropriated by those in power (Kahn, 2008).

Evidence from the 2011 HWC suggests that there is a need to put more mechanisms in place to ensure that corruption does not penetrate operations and that the values and principles to help social inclusion are implemented at all levels and in all nations. To make real change, the HWC must ensure it has the mechanisms to monitor local projects and verify the annual tournament is targeting those it is intended to. Follow up research (interview with Ball, 23/8/2012) highlighted progress, with the HWC foundation working to overcome such problems:

“I personally had a long conversation with Abhijeet (Indian Slum Soccer Manager) while I was out there (during her recent coach educator trip to the Slum Soccer project in Chennai) because I picked him up on some of his team selection but at the end of the day, you know, we can’t be there for the team selection and check the backgrounds for every player so we have to rely on our national partner and I certainly made it very clear that I expect them to abide by our rules and if something happens and they don’t abide by our rules then we will take action...But the tournament has to be for homeless people.”

Indeed, the overwhelming evidence from this research was not that the selection narrative is simply one of corruption. The evidence from other countries suggests they implement well structured selection procedures. Local street soccer leagues and in some cases national or inter-city play offs are used to select in some partner nations (HWC, 2012). Good examples of this include the Australian HWC team which is selected through the Australian Community Street Soccer Program (Sherry, 2010) and the Scottish teams who are selected from the Street Soccer Scotland programme (Dawson, 28/8/2011). As SSS (2015b) confirm, they are:

“...are a proud international partner of the HWC and select, coach and mentor the players that represent Scotland at the annual world class event. Team Scotland has been represented at every edition of the Homeless World Cup and took part in the women’s tournament for the first time in 2011.”

For SSS, selection goes beyond simply meeting the HWC's criteria. It is a holistic process which considers eligibility and playing abilities, but more significantly, whether the individual is actually ready for the HWC experience, as one former player (FP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011) highlighted:

“...it's not about ability and skill and how good a football player you are, it's about your attitude and what you can offer as part of a team, do you know what I mean, and again, if this experience is going to benefit you in your life in general and again, if you're ready for it. If you bring somebody away and they're not in the right kind of head space, you know, it can be quite daunting, you know, the experience of going abroad for the first time and all that, so you've got to look at the overall picture, you know.”

In this holistic approach, the players selected by SSS to represent Scotland in HWC tournaments tend to be towards the end of their personal pathway out of homelessness. This may well be why Scotland has won the HWC twice (2007 and 2011). It is proposed in this thesis that they have done well because they are able to cope with the magnitude of what is a global tournament implicit within which is the potential for it to be a daunting experience. In selecting players considered ready for the environment, SSS overcomes this to ensure a systematic and supportive pathway where personal progressions are made in an incremental manner beginning from their first contact with SSS and leading to selection to the HWC.

Perhaps as a reminder of the complexities of issues faced by the homeless, some problems do still remain. One player I interviewed from the Scottish women's team was playing in goal only because the player originally selected for this position had chosen to go home during the tournament as she could not cope (CP5/F/GN, 27/8/2011). The pathways for these homeless players are thus not linear and even

with the most holistic and robust of selection procedures in place, players can advance and regress in the development of their capabilities.

6.9 Winning versus Inclusion

As the premature departure of this player from the 2011 HWC demonstrates, there are instances when the tournament is simply too much for the players to cope with. Although there exists a lack of first hand evidence to elucidate the reason why the player could not cope, previous research suggests the format of the tournament may not be appropriate for all the homeless participants. Magee and Jeanes (2011) highlighted that a gulf existed between ‘elite and non-elite’ teams (in the 2003 tournament) which created contrasting priorities for the tournament (a dichotomy between winning and inclusion) and this is worthy of consideration. Therefore it is necessary to briefly consider the format of the annual HWC, in particular how it may have evolved since Magee and Jeanes research which was conducted at the inaugural 2003 event.

In essence, the HWC tournament has always been designed to ensure teams progress through different phases of competition to find an equitable standard, at which point they play off for a trophy or cup. In 2003 at the first edition of the event, the 18 participating teams were split into an upper and lower section after a first round of games, with the top 10 teams being further split into 2 groups of 5 and competing for the HWC, while the 8 teams in the lower section competed for the INSP Networking Trophy. In addition to these 2 trophies, a Fair Play Trophy and Top Scorer Trophy were also presented in 2003 which further increased the chance of teams leaving with a tangible award.

Supporting the findings of Magee and Jeanes (2011), co-founder Mel Young acknowledged the contrasting levels of professionalism evident in 2003 (2005: 34). Highlighting the need to balance a positive environment for the teams within a competitive tournament Young (2005: 42) reports this led to the evolution of the tournament to overcome this through: (i) increasing the number of awards, and (ii) structuring the tournament to allow every team to find their most appropriate level of competition.

By 2004 an additional award: the Factum Trophy, was introduced. This was the competitive prize for the winners of the second round of matches between the bottom 2 sides which had emerged from the 4 sections of 4 in the first qualification round. In this format, the top 2 teams from each section competed for the HWC and the 10 teams who failed to qualify from the initial stages went on to compete for the INSP Networking Trophy. By the time this fieldwork was conducted in 2011, the 48 nations competed through preliminary and secondary stages before playing in 6 groups of 8 for one of the following trophies: The Homeless World Cup, The Host Cup, The Dignitary Cup, The Community Cup, The City Cup and The INSP Trophy. An additional 7 special awards, including player of the tournament and a coach's award were also presented in Paris 2011, evidence of implementation of Young's (2005) promised evolution. Although it must be acknowledged the chances of winning something tangible have only marginally increased.

The notion of winning as an emphasis at all in such a tournament is questionable and may contribute to a winning versus inclusion dichotomy. So too could the world rankings compiled by the HWC after each tournament. The rationale behind this is to provide motivation to perform well and receive recognition for doing so (HWC, 2011g) and, although players can only play in one tournament and thus these do not

hold the same performance relevance as FIFA rankings, they do add another tangible outcome of participation for nations and their players. Yet the existence of trophies, awards and rankings is somewhat paradoxical in the context of the ‘socially inclusive’ HWC since winning is always at the expense of loss elsewhere.

There exists incongruence between these outcome goals, which are generally associated with the high performance/elite or professional model of sport and the positive, inclusive philosophy of the HWC. This reflects Maguire’s (2006) suggestion that SDP has struggled to extract elite features of sport from sport as development, and indeed Magee and Jeanes (2011) found that the 2003 tournament actually *excluded* some of the Welsh players who reported ‘goading’ of weaker teams by those stronger.

Whilst acknowledging the existence of these outcome related features of the HWC, the evidence from this research in 2011 was overwhelmingly of the HWC as inclusion. There was a carnival atmosphere, with friendship and support at its core. All participants, simply by virtue of being there, were celebrated as winners, with participants rejoicing in each other’s successes, cheering on other teams and celebrating all victories as their own. Players themselves highlighted this:

“...it’s been great that everyone supports each other here – it’s a great feeling of camaraderie; it makes you feel better.”

(CP3/F/GN, 26/8/2011)

Evidence from volunteer workers further supported this:

“I am here from the beginning of the week, you have a lot of people smiling all over the day, some players are losing 20 goals against zero and they are smiling all the days. It’s an ambience, I think it’s a feeling, but it’s very important...”

(V2, 27/8/2011)

This evidence from 2011 is interesting on another level too as it suggests that players competing in 2011 were better able to handle the disappointments and set-backs associated with sporting events in which losing can be as much a reality as winning. One reason for this could be Magee and Jeanes (2011: 13) suggestion that because teams found it to be such a humiliating experience some local organisations now select players who are not the 'real' homeless. They cite the Welsh example:

“...they now only select players to attend who they consider are mentally and physically strong enough to cope with what they perceive is a rigorous competitive tournament and these participants frequently are not individuals that are experiencing 'extreme social exclusion'.”

This is supported by the holistic and robust selection implemented by SSS when selecting the Scottish HWC team. This was put to the HWC's International Partnership Manager (Ball, 23/3/2012), who suggested that perhaps a rather more complicated amalgam was behind this improving standard:

“...yes, there's been a big change in terms of football and there are some, very obvious reasons for that in the sense of the teams from developing countries, particularly in Africa and Latin America, their experience of homelessness and exclusion is because they live in, you know, shacks on the side of sewerage farms basically in many cases but they are fit, strong young men and young women. They don't experience homelessness because of things like addiction or mental health issues or some of the issues that Europeans and North American country players do. So there is and there will always be a difference, in my opinion. And whether that makes it a difficult experience for the teams that have perhaps weaker footballing players, there's equally so the socially...it depends how the team managers actually work with the players in many ways... So for some teams they use that as a very positive anti discriminatory and challenging stereotypes situation...many of the European or Canada or the US, their team selection is based on people who they believe are at the right stage of their lives to now move on and so are people are pretty much ready to take the next step and so are people who are able and have some coping

mechanisms to deal with failure, because they're going to have to, I mean, you don't win every match in life, do you."

This pragmatic observation and the findings upon which it comments contributed in part to the addition of the SSS case study within this thesis and it is therefore pertinent to consider the findings of the 2014 SSS research as they highlighted significant differences between local (SSS) and global (HWC) in this winning versus inclusion dialogue. Where the HWC remains competitive, the structure of programming offered by SSS highlights is inclusive in nature. SSS offer seven different programmes, each aimed at enabling a different group of socially disadvantaged participants to participate in football and benefit from the broader social advantages it offers. The programmes on offer are: (i) drop in sessions, (ii) SS challenge sessions, (iii) Football Works Programme, (iv) SS Plus (schools), (v) SS (Women), (vi) Team Scotland, and (vii) SS FC (SSS, 2015b).

In this provision of opportunities, SSS remove the barriers to participation and in doing so proactively encourages people from vulnerable groups such as the homeless to participate in street soccer / football. Furthermore, in the creation of choice, with more than one type and format of the game, SSS enables participants to find the most appropriate program for them. Choice such as this is an important consideration within Sen's thinking. Freedom is not possible without choice, but rather an integral part of development as freedom through the capabilities perspective. Even before *Development as Freedom* (1999), Sen had spoken of choice in relation to social welfare (1984, 1998) and its importance to the development of capabilities to enable personal development and freedom remains to this day.

6.10 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the origins and development of the two case studies at the heart of this thesis. Through consideration of these organisations it has charted their development from small scale social enterprises into vehicles of social change, which use street soccer and football to deliver a range of services for homeless participants. The growing sense that personal change and social change are inseparable (Travers, 2013; Thorpe and Rinehart, 2013) is reflected by these case studies through their concern with creating positive change on a global level.

It is not the purpose of this thesis simply to provide more evidence that changes actually occur. Its purpose is to go beyond this to look more precisely at the ways in which the HWC and SSS enable change as development through understanding these as the changes as the expansion of capabilities. In the next chapter the narrative moves forward to consider this and in doing so will address the primary research questions which inform this thesis.

7.1 Introduction

As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, a key research question that underpins this thesis is the extent to which sport can help with the development of human capabilities. This objective of this chapter is to present and reflect upon some of research evidence that was gathered from participants at the 2011 Homeless World Cup (HWC) and 2014 Street Soccer Scotland (SSS). The chapter begins by briefly considering the ways in which the impact of HWC and SSS has been presented. This draws upon annual reports from 2003 but progresses beyond this to also consider the research evidence that was collected during the two distinct periods of fieldwork in 2011 and 2014. Where possible the interview data gathered is used to support and/or challenge the existing data on HWC and SSS and in this interplay this chapter begins to consider the HWC and SSS within the context of development as freedom. The research evidence presented in this chapter is structured around three themes: (i) impact, (ii) valuable lives, and (iii) the development of capabilities.

7.2 Impact

Existing research has mainly thought about the HWC and SSS in terms of their ‘impact’ and this next section will consider this evidence as reported through annual reports, broader research literature, and website material and interview data.

7.2.1 Impact of the HWC

A search of ‘Homeless World Cup’ on google.com loads 19,300,000 related hits (2.8.2014). These include reference not only to the organisation itself but to published articles, media sources and accounts of the local work linked to the HWC

Foundation. To date the impact has been considered only by a small group of researchers who have primarily limited enquiry to two areas of research namely; social capital (Sherry, 2010; Sherry, Karg and O'May, 2011; Trejo, 2013) and social inclusion (Magee and Jeanes, 2011; Magee and Jeanes, 2013). Interest in the HWC is not limited to the academic domain, Mel Young's, (co-founder and Director of HWC) own account of the organisations development and impact is presented in '*GOAL! The Story of the Homeless World Cup* (2005). It has also been commented upon in relation to a diverse range of topics including: *The World Through Soccer: The Cultural Impact of a Global Sport* (Bar-On, 2014); *How to Make a difference – One Day at a Time 365 Ways to Make a Difference and Change the World*. (Norton, 2007); *The Business Environment: Themes and Issues in a Globalizing World* (Wetherly and Otter, 2014) and in *Soccer's Most Wanted II: The Top 10 Book of More Glorious Goals, Superb Saves, and Fantastic Free-Kicks* (Carlisle, 2009). Young is applauded for the impact of the HWC in *Making a World of Difference: Inspiring Stories of the World's Unsung Heroes* (Roston, 2010: 136 - 151) and the HWC has now reached a level of public consciousness where it warrants inclusion in English Curriculum Papers (UK Gov, 2013: 100).

The level of interest is such that it has reached mainstream television with Belgian TV group de Mensen airing 8 episodes charting former professional soccer player Gilles De Bilde as he and this HWC team prepared for the 2008 HWC in Melbourne, Australia (de Mensen, 2009). The documentary: *Kicking It* (ESPN, 2008), told a similar story, reporting on seven homeless players as they prepared to play in the 2006 HWC in South Africa. Narrated by Colin Farrell, this film was premiered at the

2008 Sundance Film Festival and in doing so highlighted the growing awareness of both the HWC and of homelessness.

Despite this growing level of public interest there remains a dearth of independent research that has considered the growth and impact of HWC. As mentioned earlier, that which exists focuses on social inclusion and social capital (Sherry, 2010; Magee and Jeanes, 2011; Sherry and O'May, 2013; Trejo, 2013) but as yet none considers the extent to which the development of human capabilities can be thought of in terms of developing further freedoms for individuals. Although the entrepreneurial aspect of the HWC as a social enterprise has been considered by Foster, Hornblower and O'Reilly (2010) this has also failed to acknowledge the extent to which capabilities, development and freedoms as considered by Sen might add to such an understanding of the way in which sport may improve lives and life chances.

Arguably the most significant finding to date is that the development of social capital accrued through involvement in HWC seems to extend beyond the limited bonding capital to the more useful linking capital which reaches across social boundaries from one community (deprived, disadvantaged and excluded) to another (privileged and included) (Sherry, 2010). Sherry (2010) and Sherry, Karg and O'May (2013).

Critical to this is the length of a player's engagement in street soccer, suggesting that initial bonding evolves to bridging and linking capital as relationships become more established. Recent research has suggested that the development of social capital is not limited only to the players, but extends to volunteers working

in these local projects (Peachey et al, 2013). This concurs with the earlier findings of Sherry (2010:66) who pointed out that:

“The relationship between the participants, support staff, and volunteers built upon each other’s network, and the social capital built within the program is greater than the sum of its parts.”

Some of the evidence collected in this thesis suggests that bridging, bonding and linking capital were all apparent in the volunteer groups who were working to support the 2011 tournament. These included volunteers from local companies and the homeless community, who were working together and in doing so mutually benefitting from the experience in many and varied ways. In the words of one French volunteer (V3, 27/8/2011):

“I think it’s very important before to judge someone, to let the opportunity to someone to let it known and this type of event, it’s perfect for that. We have some homeless volunteers and the volunteers are included in all the organisation with us, the local committee of organisation and we work together equal and with a very good feeling I think. It’s very important to see that if you let you prejudices and only you come with the same objective, we have no problem, it’s realistic to see and it’s easy, it’s very easy.”

Moving beyond social capital, the HWC commissioned reports which support the idea that this impact is growing. Any systematic review of such reports (HWC, 2005; HWC, 2007; O’May, 2011) would have to note the attempt to quantify life changes, although more recently they have moved towards a more personal approach of reporting impact through personal stories of change (HWC, 2015) and both of these will now be reviewed.

Statistics from 2003 reported that following the tournament: 31 out of 141 participants gained employment in regular jobs, 12 signed with football clubs as players or coaches and 49 changed their life situation significantly either by taking

‘back to work courses’, embarking on education courses, achieving stable housing situations and having drug and/or alcohol dependencies addressed (Magee, 2010). The following year, sixteen of the 204 participants went on to make a living from football and overall, 74% (151 players) changed their living situation either by finding jobs, education or undergoing rehab, with some starting work as organisers in local street papers and one becoming manager of his team for the following years HWC (Young, 2005: 124-6).

The opportunity to take up roles directly connected to the HWC was to prove significant to the future direction for former players and set a precedent which is now at the core of the HWC whereby former players are increasingly remaining involved with the work of the HWC at some level. As the earlier example of David Duke highlighted, they become ambassadors and/or progress to administrative, managerial and entrepreneurial roles within the global network of projects connected to the HWC. Further evidence of this is presented in more detail later in this chapter.

By 2007, the HWC reported that 25,000 players had participated in training and trials for the tournament, with 381 progressing to represent their countries in the HWC. All 48 of the nations that competed in 2007 held national selections, rising from only 5 at the 2003 event. In 2003, only 3 participating nations were running grass roots local football programmes. This had risen to over 60 by 2007 and over 7 by 2015. Furthermore, longitudinal evidence collected 6 months after the 2007 Copenhagen HWC (2011e: 1) reported that:

“93% have a new motivation for life (354 players)
83% have improved social relations (316 players)
71% have significantly changed their life (271 players)

29% found employment (110 players)
38% improved their housing situation (145 players)
32% went into education (122 players)
118 players addressed a drug or alcohol dependency
71% now play football on a regular basis (271 players)
18 women participated (up from 5 in Edinburgh 2005)”

Further data from 2011 and 2014 supports the notion that the HWC has had a significant impact upon the lives of players. The HWC Press Pack for Paris, (HWC, 2011c: 2) reported:

“Research consistently indicates that over 70% of players who participate at the HWC annual tournament changed for the better. They do this by beating addictions, moving into jobs, finding homes, training and education and repairing relationships with family and friends.”

“The Homeless World Cup is pioneering a level of impact never seen before. Over 70% of players significantly change their lives after taking part in the annual tournament and many more benefit throughout the year.”

It might be argued the lack of independent research somewhat weakens the validity of these reports, but both the consistency across the reports and additional locally conducted research goes some way to address this. For example, the HWC team from Wales: the Welsh Dragons, conducted research which highlighted many individual successes, including one player who reported renewed belief in his ability, while another, a former alcoholic had turned his life around to be able to lead a stable family life and was actively seeking employment, while finally, one young person who had previously been using cannabis every day progressed to setting up his own 11-a-side league in which he was a positive role model to his peers (Street Football Wales, 2011c).

7.2.2 Impact of SSS

As this Welsh example demonstrates, consideration is increasingly given to the impact of street soccer on participants at local level. This is important not only in terms of validity but also because as we have seen, whilst the HWC was formed as an annual tournament, its evolution into a foundation in 2009 demonstrated the growing significance of the work achieved out-with the tournament. A point that is supported by HWC International Partnership Manager, Deb Ball (23/3/2012) who adds that:

“...for us, the real impact and the way football changes lives for people is by that daily, or weekly or twice weekly regular training, regular connectivity with the rest of your team mates or the project members and that’s where the impact is. Of course that is really difficult impact to capture...”

There exists growing evidence from local studies that have attempted to capture this ‘real impact’ (Sohnsmeyer et al, 2011; HWC, 2012b). For example, Sohnsmeyer et al (2011) evaluated the German street football network responsible for the training and selection of their HWC squad. In this they examined the effects of street soccer and in particular whether the positive effects on players are actually caused by participation itself. In doing so they make a valuable contribution towards addressing the unsubstantiated nature of the role sport has to play, and concluded by suggesting sport has the potential as a social tool of self-promotion and integration.

Local impact has also been considered in the UK. This evidence has largely been captured through participant surveys and presented as both qualitative and quantitative evidence. In 2010 Street Football Wales (2011c: 1) published their

participant survey which cited the ways players identified street soccer to have helped them. The link between football and the development of broader capabilities is evident in some of the answers reported:

“I get to mix with new people, have a laugh and make new friends. Street football has helped a lot. Before it came along I was going out for a couple of jars in the afternoon now I play football instead.

I was born to play football and now I can show what I’m capable of doing.

Street Football has helped me pull my life back together. Instead of doing drugs and drinking it’s got me involved in college and motivated me to do this. I’ll soon be going to university.

Street Football has made me believe in myself. If I want to achieve something. I think I will be able to now.

I am very agoraphobic and this is helping me get out more and build my confidence, I have now moved out of the hostel and am living in my own flat”

The work of Street Soccer (Scotland) has been partially evaluated by Queen Margaret University (who also evaluated the impact of the HWC). In contrast to the qualitative representation of participants put forward by SS Wales, this report (SSS, 2014d: 1) offered a quantitative perspective of local impact, finding:

“ 96% of participants reported improvements in their fitness

82% felt attendance had improved their confidence and self-esteem

46% of participants had reduced their substance misuse/intake

76% said they enjoyed the opportunity to be part of a team

62% felt it gave them the opportunity to meet new people and make friends

56% simply said it made them feel good

44% felt the diversionary aspect of sessions was important with many reporting that it gave them something to fill their time

42% said attendance at weekly drop-in sessions was their only access to sport and physical activity

100% of participants gained qualifications and were engaged in providing coaching at drop-in sessions

100% of participants felt the Academy had given them the skills and confidence they needed to progress in their lives

70% of participants felt attendance at the Academy had significantly increased their motivation

33% were able to secure employment immediately following the programme

17% made significant improvements in previous high-risk behaviours”

7.2.3 Impact as Capability

Whilst such reports of impact are significant, in their generalisations, quantifications and lack of independent collaboration, their power to tell the full story of personal change is perhaps partially lost. It is lost because the focus has not been fully trained upon the extent to which sport may or may not develop human capability. Having said that, collectively the reports are part of a body of evidence that can be drawn upon to substantiate further the relationship between some sports, poverty, homelessness and the development of capability.

There is a need to understand poverty and its associated side effects including exclusion and homelessness, in multi-dimensional terms. Sen (1999) proposes that this requires thinking about an individual's well being based on their freedom to live a life they value. The tools Sen developed for evaluating this are thought of in terms of functionings and capabilities, that is: what is effectively possible, or the ability, freedom and opportunity to achieve that which an individual values.

Through the application of this approach to further understand the findings of the research conducted with players and former players from 2011 and 2014, personal changes and impact may be further evidenced, but more importantly, understood differently. The capability approach has the potential to elucidate not only personal impacts and changes but also account for the aspects of opportunity and choice open to individuals and without which personal freedom cannot be achieved. Through the CA, these may be understood in a more universally applicable way. This chapter now moves on to tackle this. It does so through listening to the voices of the street soccer players in terms of substantiating further the link between sport and capability so critical to the understanding the homeless. As one former player (FP3/M/GS, 26.8.2011) highlighted: “They are the voice of the voiceless”.

Capabilities may be seen primarily as attributes of people, not of collectivities such as communities. Although some critics may see the concentration on the person as being one of the weaknesses of the capabilities approach, for Sen (2009:244) valuing individual lives provides a starting point from which individual freedoms can be won and this in turn may influence the world or worlds around individuals.

7.3 Valuable Lives

To begin to understand these changes, elucidating valuable lives is the starting point as capabilities need to be understood relative to that which an individual values. A valuable life is one in which each individual has the opportunity to be and do that which they value (Sen, 1999). The sort of life each participant

values are a cornerstone of the findings of this study and as such it is important to identify precisely what each individual values, or wants to be and do in their life. This next section considers the types of valuable life identified by participants, beginning firstly by considering the responses from the HWC players before progressing to consider the SSS players.

7.3.1 HWC Players

When asked about the type of life they value, the responses of the 12 HWC players interviewed in 2011 may be best categorised in three ways: (i) soccer itself, (ii) social networks, and (iii) personal fitness, human feelings and pathways.

7.3.1.1 Soccer as the Raison d'être

Soccer has been described as the 'hook' by which to attract individuals into the HWC and its associated local network of projects (Sherry, 2010). In that sense it is what Coatler (2007) referred to as 'sport plus'. The findings of this research highlight that for some HWC participants soccer is more than simply a hook; for them playing soccer constituted a valuable life and was the reason for becoming involved in the HWC's network of local street soccer projects:

“....I was dreaming to come here so I can meet a team which can support me...”

(CP1/F/GS, 27/8/2011)

For another player, who had previously been a high performance football player, the HWC was the opportunity to showcase her skills in the hope of being able to realise their vision of a valuable life:

“I’ve played football since I was 5. I’ve played for clubs, won leagues, I’ve played at a good level for myself but I lost interest when I was 18 just ‘cos I was going through a hard period in my life and, eh, street soccer, I don’t know I’ve just got my love back for football and I’m quite enjoying it. Who knows in the future maybe I can go back to playing at a high level again.”

(CP5/F/GN,27/8/2011)

These players then were playing because it was soccer. Soccer was part of what constituted a valuable life for them. This concurs with the figures of impact reported earlier which showed that 12 participants in 2003 and 16 in 2004 went into professional soccer. For others interviewed as part of this research it was the broader social benefits, particularly in relation to friends and family which they cited as valuable.

7.3.1.2 Social Networks: Friends and Family

“Before I was involved in the HWC I couldn’t get my boy to stay over with me, I couldnae have him in the hostel, so I missed having him overnight and all that. I was used to spending every day with him – that is what’s important to me – him. Only that.”

(CP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

Notably this player (CP4/M/GN) had been a professional footballer before injury ended his career, yet for him it was reconnecting with family and not the soccer which he valued. A similar need to reconnect with family was central to another player too. Now 25 years old, he has been homeless twice since he was 20, but felt better supported now that he was re-connected to his family. Listen to what he had to say in this matter:

“I’ve made contact with them now, so this time, they’ve supported me as well this time so it hasn’t been so difficult. The HWC helped me make contact with them again.”

(CP6/M/GN, 26/8/2011)

Conversely, for another player it was actually being homeless itself which had enabled her to experience this feeling of family connection. This had helped her identify its value to her life and her desire to re-build broken relationships. She became homeless following the breakdown of relationships with her mother and then partner. In recognising the close knit ties she developed with other homeless people, she was able to identify the value of family ties:

“...it’s like a family together, we looked after one another. That’s what I want in the future but not being homeless – just being a family”

(CP9/F/GN, 26/8/2011)

The creation and nurturing of social networks was important to participants on different levels too. For some this simply meant they valued a life with friends;

“We are very happy because of all the new friends we have made.”

(CP1/F/GS,27/8/2011)

“...It’s mostly the friendships, but it’s important to feel part of something together”

(CP2 /M/GN,26/8/2011)

For another player:

“It’s been like a great experience, getting to bond and working with, like very different personalities, working them all. It’s been like a huge experience and it’s been great that everyone supports each other here – it’s a great feeling of camaraderie; it makes you feel better.

(CP3 /F/GN,28/8/2011)

Somewhat surprisingly the HWC players from all global regions identified social aspects, and not a house, as might be expected, as that which they value in life. Doing so suggests that homelessness is a less negative experience if you have company, love and social interaction. Indeed, in the social connections and sense of family that being homeless brought to player CP9/F/GN, this player highlighted that experiencing homelessness had actually benefitted her. Earlier in our discussions Young (2005: 4) referred to the connections built in selling the Big Issue and it seems participation in the HWC brings a similar sense of growing social capital within its community. But building social networks, friends and family were only some of the valuable lives aspired to since interviews in 2011 also highlighted that personal fitness was also valued.

7.3.1.3 Personal Fitness, Human Feelings and Pathways

“I’m fitter now (than at the start of playing) but I want to be fitter and look better because that makes me feel better too. I am more confident and happier.”

(CP9/F/GN,26/8/2011)

For this player being fitter and “looking better” was what she valued and as elucidated in chapter three, these physical and psychological reasons are frequently cited as important broader benefits of sport, so this supports some of the research about sport in society in that it is often cited as the rationale for the promotion of sport in society (Gilman, Meyers and Perez, 2004).

It is of interest to note that across all interviews, that when asked about valuable lives, players commonly referred to ‘feeling’, rather than to ‘having’ or ‘being’ or

‘doing’. This is an interesting observation within the context of the capability approach. Where Sen’s ‘beings and doings’ (functionings) exist alongside capabilities as the foundation of the approach and are integral to assessing the development of capabilities and freedoms, feelings are not always highlighted within accounts of the approach. Yet players at the HWC overwhelmingly wanted to ‘feel’; to feel better, to feel fitter, to feel more socially connected and to feel like their ambitions could be realised. Firstly, the SSS selection criteria for the Scottish HWC team presented previously alluded to the fact that many of their HWC players are towards the end of their pathway out of homelessness. They had progressed through local street soccer projects to be selected to represent their country only because they were deemed to be at a stage of capability to be able to participate in, benefit from and enjoy the HWC. Many were therefore transitioning out of homelessness and only qualified for the HWC due to the retrospective nature of the eligibility criteria, for example:

“I was staying in a homeless hostel in Cambuslang, well, half way it’s called. I was in there for 11 and a half month and just before I came to the HWC, through the football I got a house. So there’s a house sitting back in Glasgow for me when I get back.”

(CP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

Thus if we are to fully understand not only the methodological individualism acknowledged in Holmwood’s (2013) discussion of Sen, but also more fully understand capability, inequality and homelessness, then we need to listen to such voices presented in this research.

Player reports dominated by feelings may allude to mental health and addiction problems underlying the cause of their homelessness, and more research into this is required. But as this research unfolded other possible reasons for this emerged.

This ‘feeling’ was explained by participants in terms of the need to have human acknowledgement and social interaction above all else. As one former HWC player who was interviewed in 2011 in his role with the Scottish Women’s team highlighted:

“...some of the volunteers we spoke to, they were saying that when they’re kind of walking up and down the street and they see guys that are homeless or maybe begging, they don’t want to give them money, they don’t know what to do or give them. I said, ‘you know what, just give them 5 minutes of your time to listen to them, that’s probably better than anything they could ask for’, you know what I mean. They couldn’t believe that something that simple. It’s just to humanise someone, you know what I mean, to make them feel part of...to make them feel human again. Just go over and go like that ‘how you doing’, do you know what I mean, or go like ‘do you want a wee chat’, just the simple things, people tend to overcomplicate things, you know.”

(FP4/M/GN,28/8/2011)

Feelings are closely tied to the human rights intrinsic within the capability approach and it is the belief within this thesis that, in their intangible and personal nature, understanding feelings can inform future thinking of the ways in which SDP projects may be understood, implemented and assessed. Furthermore, through the capability approach and more research which listens to the “voices of the voiceless” (FP3/M/GS, 26/8/2011), these can be meaningfully translated into a universal language of understanding as capability through sport. Elucidating via Sen’s approach, without the constraints of a definitive list, the limiting lens of homelessness as lack of ‘having’ is removed. In light of these findings from 2011,

this seems critical as what seems to matter is the need to ensure the homeless and vulnerable receive the necessary emotional support in ameliorative measures to help them feel better and this in turn supports the development of other capabilities and freedoms that can be won.

7.3.2 HWC: Former Players

By interviewing 5 former players at the 2011 HWC, a greater level of insight into this was possible. The responses of these former players differed somewhat from the current players. Although one former player, who was in Paris coaching as part of a team, was still dreaming of life as a professional player, the other four focussed value on their work and volunteering to help homeless people through the HWC:

“I heard about Bebe the guy from Portugal who was here as a player and now he’s at Manchester United, that is what I heard. So maybe they help me, because I have the talent. I dream of being like him.”

(FP1/M/GS, 26/8/2011)

“The political situation there (in Kenya) is too difficult and dangerous for me. That is why I am here (living in France). My father was a politician and they killed him, so my mother and sister, they are now in Somalia and I came here. I can never go back - I have seen and know too much... Back in Kenya they do not have many possibilities, there is no one to look out for you. Here you get looked after better by the government, it has been very good for me to be here. I am working with at this tournament. I am happier here and I just want to forget and move on with my life.”

(FP2/M/GS, 27/8/2011)

“...this is our first tournament to participate with the Malawi women’s team but in 2008 I went to Australia, in Melbourne where I participated in the HWC. I was the player and captain of Malawi. So for me it is a pleasure and an honour to be able to teach my fellow friends, they trust me and I them.”

(FP3/M/GS, 26/8/2011)

“I work for a homeless organisation back in Glasgow and I love it. Some of the services links in with it (street soccer), but I’ve been involved myself as a service user, do you know what I mean, and I’ve managed to kind of get our service get a football team involved from our service with the street soccer and that’s helped myself and the other staff members build up relationships with the guys we work with, do you know what I mean, so the whole all round effect has been amazing for me and for them. That’s what’s valuable to me. ”

(FP4/M/GN,28/8/2011)

“I went from having kind of no outlook of what my future held to say ‘no, look, I really enjoy this, I think this is what I was meant to do...Now I run my own street soccer project and I really enjoy it.”

(FP5/M/GN,28/8/2011)

These former players were more focussed on the notion of giving back and an overwhelming sense of the need to feel connected to and involved in a broader community. However, whilst responses between current and former players differed in this respect, there was concurrence between both groups that a valuable life was not necessarily about ‘having’, and indeed possession of a home was not an aspiration they conveyed, but rather access to people, opportunities and choice were their priorities. Individual human beings with their various plural identities, multiple affiliations and associations are, according to Sen quintessentially social creatures (Sen, 2009:247).

Finally, a consideration of the responses of current and former players also crucially illuminates the existence of pathways. Where current players identified a life of value orientated around their personal feelings, the former players seemed to have progressed beyond this focus to adopt a more selfless view of life in which the need to give back and contribute to society was of value to them. This notion of homelessness as a pathway is one which this thesis returns to repeatedly and it is

therefore interesting at this point to turn attention towards the interviews conducted with players from SSS in 2014 in order to understand where, if at all, their responses fitted within this emerging notion.

7.3.3 SSS Players

The responses of the seven SSS players interviewed in 2014 showed significant connection, if not common ground, with those of the HWC players. They too tended to identify a valuable life in a social-emotional (feeling) rather than physical artefacts (having) sense. The findings which elucidate this are now presented and considered in more detail. They are categorised into three distinct groups or themes, although it should be noted that the responses of some participants reached across more than one category. The three themes are: (i) social connections; (ii) self-improvement, and (iii) working.

7.3.3.1 Social Connections

Two out of the seven players identified social connections as the dominant factor which constitutes a life of value:

“I get to know more people. When you’re an addict, you ruin all your connections, your communication skills. You have to start again from scratch basically, so coming here I got to – I built up relationships through here and that’s what’s most important to me as well and I’ve got my passion back for football that I had when I was a young boy.

(SSS2, 10/3/2014)

And another commented that:

“...to speak to your pals about any problems you’ve got and have a laugh and stuff like that...”

(SSS4, 12/3/2014)

7.3.3.2 Self Improvement

For others, SSS helped define and re-define the life they valued through a continual sense of self-improvement and personal progression in life. This self improvement took a variety of forms: from working, to feeling in control, staying healthy, providing for loved ones and even looking physically better. These were evident in the following responses:

“Because of street soccer, we have some work now too, that makes me feel better”

(SSS1, 10/3/2014)

“I want to feel like I have control in an aspect of my life again. At the moment soccer gives me this but in the future I want control in my life.”

(SSS6, 16/4/2014)

“Well, healthy, I want to stay healthy, I want to stay fit and I want to work in the future.”

(SSS2, 10/3/2014)

7.3.3.3 Working

Two SSS players identified working as what they considered a life of value. This was not just work for the sake of work itself, but because work itself was also seen as being important to other things such as holding down a relationship:

“I want to work as a coach. I have hope in the future now.”

(SSS1, 10/3/2014)

“I’ve spent that long not working and again, being an addict, you need to keep busy. I’m in a relationship and I want to provide for my girl-friend and I need to get a job to do all that.”

(SSS7, 16/4/2014)

7.3.3.4 Discussion of Findings of Valuable Lives

Although there are some common features between players and former players of what constitutes a valuable life, it seems valuable lives are very personal. Through identification of the valuable lives of these three distinct groups: HWC players, HWC former players, and SSS players, the results begin to understand subtle differences in personal perspectives and in doing so remind of their malleable and personal nature. Further, the results are significant in their ability to begin to differentiate levels of value. For SSS players it is social connections, work and self-improvement, but for HWC players, while also valuing the social element, they cited focus on the soccer itself and the physical benefits it brings. This suggests they may have already made the step forward in their life and are using soccer and specifically the HWC as sport, purely for the enjoyment of doing so and not in a sport plus sense. This proposition of different levels is further strengthened by the responses of the former HWC players who identified altruistic aspects to a life of value.

These findings thus return to notions of pathways. Earlier, in chapter 5 this was presented as an effective way of thinking about homelessness, yet this remains new to sport and no other research into sport and homelessness has to date identified the notion of pathways into and out of homelessness through the HWC and SSS. The findings of this research suggest that SSS and the HWC fulfil slightly different roles

at different stages of these personal pathways and in doing so there is the sense that SSS and HWC are in effect a player pathway with parallels to that of homelessness.

This will be discussed in more detail later but first it is necessary to understand how a valuable life is achieved since this is the primary objective of development. Sen (1999) suggests achievement of a valuable life requires the expansion of capabilities, where a capability is the ability, freedom or opportunity to achieve specific ‘functionings’ such as being well-nourished, or sheltered (beings) or travelling or caring for a child (doings). In this next part of the chapter the types and extent to which personal capabilities were expanded through participation in the HWC and SSS will be considered.

7.4 The Expansion of Capabilities

Effective capability is the freedom to choose functionings which are valued, that is: the valuable set of functioning’s to which a person has access (Sen, 1999). The capabilities players and former players attributed to their involvement in the HWC and SSS forms an extensive list and is now presented. This evidence of the development of capabilities is structured around the following categories: (i) evidence from the players and former players at the HWC in 2011, (ii) evidence from players in SSS, 2014, (iii) evidence of a capability pathway, (iv) developing capabilities in a broader audience, (v) development of the capabilities of women, and (vi) evidence of capability and opportunity. It should be noted that this list is not meant to be exhaustive but illustrative of, and developed out of evidence presented in this study. Future studies may develop this further.

7.4.1 Evidence of Expansion of Capabilities in Players at HWC, 2011

The interviews in Paris extended to twelve players and five former players. Players identified a range of capabilities they had developed as a result of their participation in the HWC. This section will consider each of these and is structured around the following categories: (i) enhancing psychological health and basic mental skills for everyday life, (ii) building confidence, (iii) developing interpersonal skills, (iv) improving self-esteem, (v) developing a sense of gratefulness and perspective, and (vi) developing leadership potential.

7.4.1.1 Enhancing Psychological Health and Basic Mental Skills which help in Everyday Life

Both players and former players reported benefits which may be best classified as psychological. Of these, the role in the HWC in helping them to overcome depression was most frequently cited:

“It helped me mentally because I was starting to get depressed but the football and goal of the HWC helped me feel more positive”

(CP2/M/GN, 26/8/2011)

“It was a dark time for me”

(CP6/M/GN, 26/8/2011)

“I was like so low that I knew I had to do something about it...”

(CP3/F/GN, 28/8/2011)

“The HWC’s been great for me though. It gave me a purpose in the morning, something to get up for. When you’re out of work, you get depressed but then you find something like this available, the HWC, you find that available. It gives you a purpose to get up in the morning and get involved.”

(CP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

Improving physical health through the release of stress and lowering of anxiety levels, which while psychological in nature, are widely reported to improve physical health (Gilman, Meyers and Perez, 2004). The evidence from this research supported the ability of street soccer to do this:

“When I play I am free and not worrying about things in my life. The more I play the more these problem I have are not important.”

(CP1/M/GN, 27/8/2011)

Players reported feelings of inner peace when they played soccer which helped them to switch off from the personal problems they were experiencing:

“It’s something outside of my other problems going on. It’s helped, I don’t know, well, keep me out of trouble a little bit, you know keep me out of the streets.”

(CP3/F/GN, 28/8/2011)

“That is why I am playing football – to forget. The political situation was very difficult and I saw and know too many things that make my life hard. I just want to forget and football helps me to forget.”

(FP2/M/GS,27/8/2011)

Other capabilities related to psychological health include the development of basic mental skills, like those more commonly seen in the high performance sports arena, such as goal setting:

“You can get back up again, you’ve just got to set your goals up there (points high), cause you’ll be about here (points low) and try to get the bit in the middle – to try to live my life again. “

(CP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

“I was concentrating on this: this was my big goal.”

(CP2/M/GN, 26/8/2011)

For some it was all about focus:

“For me it’s helped to, ah, to stay more focussed I guess.”

(CP3/F/GN, 28/8/2011)

Others talked about emotional well-being:

“...helps me feel better.”

(CP9/F/GN, 26/8/2011)

Others talked about having friends and social networks which is a point that was raised earlier:

“I feel good that I have my friends and social network in my team. It helps me a lot.”

(CP1/M/GN, 27/8/2011)

“...the positivity of it.”

(CP1/M/GN, 27/8/2011)

Based on this evidence, participation at the HWC develops capabilities connected to psychological health and in doing so further adds to and supports the body of knowledge in this area which was covered in chapter 3.

Within these findings, notable differences emerged between the regions of the global North and South. With only one exception, it was the players from the GN who identified the capabilities linked to psychological health. These findings reinforce the GN-GS homeless dichotomy in which poverty dominates the narrative of the GS,

while in the GN it is more likely to be an amalgam in which addiction and mental health play significant roles. Furthermore, these findings demonstrate the role the HWC plays in improving the psychological health and wellbeing of players suffering from the afflictions commonly associated with GN homelessness.

The psychological capabilities developed and expanded through participation in the HWC extended beyond simply health related psychological capabilities. Within this the evidence from both GN and GS players suggests that these capabilities may be important to homeless people in a more universal sense, regardless of the circumstance or how it is experienced and this is explored next.

7.4.1.2 Building Confidence

Confidence was another key capability which players identified. They attributed this development of confidence directly to their involvement in the HWC and to playing soccer itself. In some cases this was simply confidence related to their soccer abilities, as one player highlighted:

“My coach says I am a very good player and I think I can be a professional soccer player somewhere like here”

(CP1/F/GS, 27/8/2011)

It also extended beyond playing ability to building broader self-confidence which speaks to ones self-assurance of personal judgement and ability:

“Because of the HWC I have learned to coach and now I am a coach.”

(FP3/M/GS, 26/8/2011)

“I can talk to people now. Before I used to avoid that but now I like to talk to people more.”

(CP6/M/GN, 26/8/2011)

7.4.1.3 Developing Inter-personal Skills

Closely connected to this self-confidence was the expansion of inter-personal capabilities. This included the development of verbal communication, listening, empathy, better social awareness, and improved self-management. This is evident in the following interviews:

“Being part of my street team has given me a social connection to people...we sometimes meet now to go out for dinner or to a movie. If I am feeling low then I know they will support me and if I see that someone is feeling low, then I will listen to them and try to help them.”

(CP2/M/GN, 26/8/2011)

“You can relate to people.”

(CP2/M/GN, 26/8/2011)

“Now, because of the HWC, I am able to lead a group in my community. People respect me and ask for my help and I give it to them.”

(FP1/M/GS, 26/8/2011)

“It’s been like a great experience, getting to bond and working with, like very different personalities, working them all.”

(CP9/F/GN, 26/8/2011)

7.4.1.4 Improving Self-Esteem

Self-esteem is strongly linked to these inter-personal skills and as well as to confidence. It reflects a person's own emotional evaluation of their worth, and this seemed to be expanded through their involvement with street soccer:

“You feel better about yourself, so self-esteem builds up as well.”

(CP1/F/GS, 27/8/2011)

“I am proud (about me) because my mum is proud of me”

(FP3/M/GS, 26/8/2011)

7.4.1.5 Developing a Sense of Perspective and Gratefulness

Evidence also supported the suggestion that through participation in the HWC, the perspective and self-reflection of some players were expanded. As was touched upon earlier, this was particularly true of those from the GN who were suddenly confronted by the reality of homelessness in the GS and recognised that in fact their situation was not as bad as they may have thought. That is to say, a degree of comparative relativity entered the way some thought about their own situation.

“You meet other people from other countries who are far worse off than you think you are yourself. Even if you're homeless back in Glasgow, or Scotland, see compared to someone who's homeless in Cambodia, they've got absolutely nothing. We've got hostels that are warm and clean, so that's a kind of a wee bit where you think 'well it's crap to be homeless but, you know what, it's not the end of the world.’

(CP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

“See one of the biggest things that had an impact, see the Cambodian team, we met the Cambodian team, and obviously everybody that's involved has got their own kind of personal issues you know. We met the Cambodian team and got involved with them a little bit, raising some money and getting so kind of stuff, and you know, just forming a kind of friendship, a bond with them. You listen to some

of their stories and I was like ‘you know what, things might be bad, but they’re not that bad, they’re manageable’. You know, it made me kind of realise, back in Glasgow the issues that me personally experienced, I can kind of come through it. When I see what’s on offer, you know the services, the opportunities back in Glasgow whereas these guys are basically...there’s no much there for them, you know what I mean. Then I was able to take that back to Glasgow and share that experience with other people who’ve got similar issues, you know.

(FP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

This broadening of perspective highlights the value of an international tournament. However, and building on the discussions from earlier, it must be acknowledged that for those from the GS this impact may be conversely felt. These participants arrive from slum housing in the GS to a city like Paris and meet homeless players from the global Northern nations for whom homelessness is a different proposition, one which must seem significantly brighter than theirs. Earlier evidence presented the problem of runaways for the HWC and it is important to recognise that expressions of gratefulness primarily tended to be limited to players and former players from the GN and in fact this also has the potential to be polarising.

7.4.1.6 Uncovering Leadership Potential

Players and former players developed capabilities which enabled them to become role models, ambassadors and leaders. These findings support the earlier evidence of Deb Ball and others of this emerging cycle of re-involvement:

“Right now I am the role model for them, because I went to Melbourne. Now I am the coach. I have changed and I say to them that they can change too.”

(FP1/M/GS, 26/8/2011)

“...this is our first tournament to participate with the Malawi women’s team but in 2008 I went to Australia, in Melbourne where I

participated in the HWC. I was the player and captain of Malawi. So for me it is a pleasure and an honour to be able to teach my fellow friends, they trust me and I them.”

(FP3/M/GS, 26/8/2011)

A similar cycle of re-involvement and personal development was reported by a former player re-involved as part of the Scotland Women’s team management. Like his colleagues from the GS(FP1/M/GS and FP3/M/GS) he had been a player at the 2008 HWC before going onto become national team staff in 2011:

“...my kind of role is kind of welfare, just looking out for the players and making sure they are all right. So it’s just making sure that the lassies are all right and if they get to meetings, that kind of thing...back in Glasgow I work for a homeless organisation. I’ve been over with the guys team for the past few years, this is the first time I’ve been involved with the ladies team, so it’s kind of a different kind of role, you know what I mean?

I played in Melbourne, 2008, then after that I got asked to go back in a different kind of role and I’ve been involved ever since....I was kind of homeless at one point myself, you know what I mean. I had problems with addiction and stuff like that as well. But, 2007, I went for the trials, I was in a treatment centre but obviously at that time I wasn’t kind of ready. So I went for the trials the following year and I got picked to go, you know what I mean, so that was that.”

(FP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

Indeed, this is not limited to this player and another former player’s story demonstrates the extent of this development of leadership capabilities and subsequent expanding cycle of re-involvement:

“The coach, it was him who spotted me, because I also train some trainers, people that are living on the street, on the streets in Malawi that is where they found me (then selected him for the 2008 HWC in Melbourne). I played well in Australia... so for me it was very nice even though we did not win the world cup...it was good.

Question: So you played in Melbourne then what happened when you got back to Blantyre?

Now they want me to find people that are excluded from the community and those that are living in the street, like vendors that are selling potatoes in the markets, like in Blantyre and people that are vulnerable to diseases so we use football as a tool to bring those people together to try to exchange the ideas. Maybe they have got, we call it, an excuse, like they can make their own craft, like ah, put something that they make to sell, they can make these (showing cards and bracelets) and sell. We use it to bring those people together.

We don't look how good they are, we can train them to be players but what we want is talent that they have got, to expose them to sell some of our craft that is Malawi's choice. ”

(FP3/M/GS, 26/8/2011)

This former player had progressed from being a player in the 2008 HWC to become coach of the women's team in the 2011 tournament, but his re-involvement went further. The vision he articulated was for him to take the next step and progress to become a 'coach of coaches', a mentor to empower the women in his team to become the next generation of re-involved players.

This is important because in these role models and ambassadors lies the potential for them to influence positive change not only in the social sense which is the focus of this study, but also in the economic, and perhaps most importantly, political sense. In *Development as Freedom*, Sen (1999: 18) highlighted how:

“These capabilities can be enhanced by public policy, but also, on the other side, the direction of public policy can be influenced by the effective use of participatory capabilities by the public.”

In this recognition of the traditional sociological dichotomy of agency versus structure, Sen makes an important contribution: that of the CA as an approach with

the potential to enable a move away from such dichotomies to unify thinking. Indeed, the community formed by the HWC and SSS as well as the other local partners, has the potential to be a significant influence of public policy and a catalyst for change. Earlier the example of David Duke was introduced. David had progressed from HWC player to SSS founder and who now:

“...works closely with local and national Government, sports governing bodies, mental health charities, housing associations and professional football clubs all with the aim of improving the lives of those who face some of society’s biggest challenges.”

(SSS, 2015c)

The evidence garnered from the fieldwork at the HWC in 2011 suggests the ability of the HWC to increase capabilities. Furthermore, it suggests capabilities were not limited to one particular type or area, rather they extend across different areas of human development and in doing so speak to the multi-dimensional problems associated with homelessness. However, the HWC is only one part of the narrative and it is necessary to provide a more complete account of the ways in which street soccer helps programs with the expansion of capabilities by turning attention towards the expansion of capabilities in SSS.

7.4.2 Evidence of Expansion of Capabilities in SSS Players, 2014

Interviews were conducted with 7 players and 1 former player in March and April 2014 and the findings of these interviews are now presented. They are structured around the capabilities identified by SSS players during the interviews: (i) developing confidence, (ii) developing emotional control, (iii) being physically healthier, and (iv) emergence of organisational and leadership skills. Following

presentation of the evidence, the meanings are discussed in more detail and in relation to the findings from the HWC in the section which follows this.

7.4.2.1 Developing Confidence.

Of all the capabilities highlighted by the players, the development of confidence as a direct result of their involvement in SSS was most prevalently cited:

“You gain a bit more confidence about yourself as well.”

(SSS1, 10/3/2014)

“I can do things now that I just couldnae do before.”

(SSS4,12/3/2014)

“...like confidence, especially my self-confidence on the football park.”

(SSS7, 16/4/2014)

“You gain a bit more confidence about yourself as well. You feel better about yourself, so self-esteem builds up as well. It also gives you a bit more hope about the future too. It helps. It helps get identification with people. Robert – showed that he’s an inspiration. So, other skills I’ve learned I suppose it’s helped me build my self-esteem up as well.”

(SSS6, 16/4/2014)

7.4.2.2 Developing Emotional Control.

SSS also helped players to maintain control of their emotions. One player who previously had problems with anger management which were directly related to him becoming homeless highlighted:

“I was angry before – just about anything really. I had a temper on me... but no now (since being in the street soccer program). I can control it better.”

(SSS5, 12/3/2014)

Emotional control in a sense of diversion of emotions away from problems through immersion in the football at SSS was also evident:

“I can escape from my life when I’m here. It’s like my own wee world, I and I love it.”

(SSS1, 10/3/2014)

“When I’m playing it’s like I’ve no worries”

(SSS6, 16/4/2014)

7.4.2.3 Developing Physical Health

Physical capabilities were also expanded through involvement with SSS, which helped develop both fitness and health:

“I’m fitter now – I used to no be able to run at all but now I can play a whole game. I stopped smoking and that because of this so I feel better because of that too.”

(SSS5, 12/3/2014)

“... it’s something for my physical needs as well and also a bit of fellowship as well.”

(SSS2, 10/3/2014)

“Getting me playing football and that again, keeping myself active and fit.”

(SSS5, 12/3/2014)

7.4.2.4 Emergence of Leadership Capabilities

On a local level there existed evidence of personal growth of a very similar sort to that identified earlier by the HWC players:

“I’ve started my own wee team on a Thursday night here, so that’s kind of given me leadership skills and that.”

(SSS1, 10/3/2014)

“I’m arranging the two teams from here as that’s given me skills that I would have never been able to do. Like: sort 2 teams out, collect the money in, go and register the teams. You know what I mean I would never have been able to do that before.”

(SSS3, 10/3/2014)

This evidence of the development of capabilities in SSS players highlights many similarities to those which emerged in the research with the HWC players. There were some distinct differences too and these patterns are now discussed.

7.5 Evidence of a Capability Pathway: From SSS to the HWC

Overall there exist clear parallels in the evidence of the development of capabilities in players participating in the HWC and in SSS. These parallels related in particular to the types of capability apparent in players. That is; the capabilities elucidated by SSS players were similar to those identified by both current and former HWC players. Where differences between participants did occur was in the level of capability.

For instance, psychological capabilities were reported by participants in both the HWC and SSS, but where the players and former players of the HWC spoke to psychological health, using words like ‘goals’ and ‘focus’, SSS players spoke in

terms of anger management rather than the psychological skills of goal setting or attention control (focus).

Similarly, both the HWC and SSS developed leadership skills in their participants. Where this was exemplified in SSS players by, for instance: a player starting 'his own wee team', it translated to HWC players and former players becoming re-involved in the HWC as coaches, managers, ambassadors and support staff with their national teams.

This is not to say that the capabilities developed within either the HWC or SSS are more important than those developed in the other: they are not. This evidence suggests it is only through the existence of both the HWC and SSS that real progress out of homelessness is made and capabilities may be fully developed.

Research conducted at the inaugural HWC highlighted that most participants seemed to be the 'real homeless' (Young, 2005; Magee and Jeanes, 2011), with the 'real homeless' Welsh team finding the event to be a negative experience (Magee, 2011; Magee and Jeanes, 2011). By the 2011 HWC this problem seemed to have been largely overcome. The evidence generated from both the contextual review and interviews suggests this was the case because, by 2011, the HWC as a local network was well established, enabling nations to implement better player pathways which connected from local to global. This was evident in the holistic and robust selection process and criteria implemented by SSS. As understood from a capabilities perspective, these connections between the HWC and local partnerships such as SSS enabled the systematic development of capabilities. This meant only players who were ready, that is: they had developed the necessary capabilities to the appropriate level, achieved HWC selection.

Yet the evidence also highlighted that progressions are highly personalised. They occur at a rate and in a direction based purely on the individual and are influenced by factors such as personality type, genetic potential, environment and circumstances. Therefore, even with a strong process and pathway in place, personal regressions can also occur, such as the case of the Scottish women's team goalkeeper who had not stayed for the duration of the 2011 HWC, with her position being filled by an outfield player.

The evidence of capabilities existing on a pathway involving both SSS and the HWC was further elucidated through the interviews with the former players. In these, the personal stories which are so critical to the narrative of this thesis emerged and these individual accounts are now considered.

7.5.1 Personal Pathways: Stories of Expanding Capabilities

Earlier evidence highlighted the personal story of David Duke and the pathway he took from HWC player to SSS founder, but David's story is far from unique. Both the evidence which emerged from the original research for this thesis as well as from the contextual review elucidated countless similar accounts and some of these are now discussed.

Professional football player Bebe's personal story emerged in the literature. From abandoned child to professional player, Bebe played for HWC local Portuguese partner *Cais* in the 2009 European Street Football Festival, (BBC, 2014) and a year later he had signed for Manchester United Football Club and was selected to the Portuguese national under 21 Team (Sky Sports, 2014). Although Bebe did not actually play in the HWC tournament, the opportunity he received through the HWC's local partner organisation *Cais*, which fulfils a similar role to SSS, and

through playing in the European street soccer festival provided the platform for his talent to be recognised. In doing so it demonstrates once again the value of the symbiosis between the local network and international platform both of which work together with the homeless players to help them realise their potential. They achieve this through helping players expand their capabilities.

The reach and impact of Bebe's story extended beyond his immediate environment, with earlier evidence from the research conducted in 2011 highlighting the inspiration Bebe had given the player coded FP1/M/GS, who was still dreaming of a similar life trajectory.

While stories such as Bebe's provide high profile support of the role street soccer can play in the development of capabilities at different levels, the evidence generated by this research highlighted that a more common personal pathway was not that of reaching professional playing status, but of re-integration into society through a re-involvement with street soccer which was facilitated through the relationship of the local (SSS) and international (HWC) organisations.

This cycle of re-involvement was illustrated by the accounts of former players interviewed in 2011 and who, in recounting their stories, highlighted the ways in which their realities had changed. These could change both positively and negatively, as FP4/M/GN (28/8/2011), a member of the Scottish Women's team support staff (management) highlighted:

“You can have everything you've ever worked for in your life, do you know what I mean, then your relationship breaks, or there's a death in the family or you lose your job, or, do you know what I mean. I see it day in, day out, guys that go through that, then they go into a hostel environment and then just to cope, they get involved in drugs and alcohol. Do you know what I mean, they just adapt very,

very quickly to the negative stuff to try to escape the reality of what they're experiencing. It's unbelievable."

The evidence provided by the interviews with players and former players in both 2011 and 2014 highlighted the effects that street soccer had on expanding their capabilities and breaking these negative cycles. Using tools such as the SSS example of Football Works and the support network they provided through connection to, for example; mental health organisation SAMH, SSS players were able to develop capabilities which enabled them to escape this negative cycle. They replaced negative behaviours and emotions with capabilities which instigated a positive upwards spiral.

"I had 2 daughters at a very early age and obviously I had a hectic lifestyle with drugs and alcohol and stuff like that. My goals that I'd had when I was younger just died away you know what I mean. It was my own fault but I was getting trapped in that life – a lifestyle that I didn't want. At 20 years old and I got a 6 and a half year jail sentence so I was in there for a few years...I don't have that lifestyle anymore, I certainly don't drink and I don't take drugs anymore. After that I changed my attitude and my behaviour and stuff and obviously started to change my life and SSS was there to help me achieve my goals and here I am after a year and a half still going strong so I'm just going to keep coming you know... I have confidence in SSS and obviously other organisations that I work with who are doing their very best to give support to me. Ever since I came to SSS, that's just helped me. It's really good you know."

(SSS1, 10/3/2014)

This development of capabilities occurred not through a single monumental event or structure but rather through the subtle changes of environment and personal perceptions, both of which were led by their involvement in street soccer. The story of P1/SSS is that of someone still at the beginning of their journey and this typified the findings of this research: those interviewed in SSS were still building the

capabilities necessary to enable them to climb out of homelessness while those interviewed at the HWC had transitioned through difficult times and developed their capabilities to an extent which allowed them to move forward and make significant life changes in the form of finding homes, jobs and breaking patterns of addiction. As one former player (FP1/M/GS, 26/8/2011) who was coach to the Ghanaian team perhaps best exemplifies:

“At first I thought there was no hope for the future, because when I left school I started drinking cans and smoking, drinking until one day Mr Martin saw me and said ‘you have the talent’ the organisation is trying to use the talents in football so I stopped hanging around with those people and stopped drinking and smoking and not working. Now I have hope for the future. Now all my friends are in football, I have completely different friends, at first my friends say to me ‘come with us’, but now I can say ‘no’ and now I have met completely different people, who also have different backgrounds and different stories so we are now together.”

This notion of changing realities is not a single leap in which they are definitively re-defined and nor is this re-definition concrete. The evidence from this research presents the case that, just as the body of knowledge elucidates homelessness as a pathway which is neither smooth nor linear, so too the pathways through SSS and HWC are similarly diverse.

This is in part due to different perceptions on what a valuable life is, and partly because of different capability potentials. Another reason is that players are constantly evolving to the new realities they created. This was best exemplified by the interviews with CP4/M/GN, who was interviewed as captain of the winning Scottish men’s team at the HWC in 2011 (28/8/2011) and subsequently in his role of coach within SSS in 2014. In 2011 he was just emerging from his homeless journey:

“I played with Dundee United, Airdrie, Clyde, East Stirling and I played Junior as well. I broke my leg 3 times, so...things changed, I had to do part time jobs and part time football, just to try and make a living...I became homeless, what, in fact, a year ago at the start of this month I became homeless. I split up with my son’s mum and...she stayed in the house with the kid and I moved out. Then I became redundant in March from the job I had... Then in August I became homeless and I was staying in a homeless hostel...I was in there for 11 and a half month and just before I came to the HWC, through the football I got a house. So there’s a house sitting back in Glasgow for me when I get back.”

In 2011, this player cited a valuable life as one in which he would be an active part in his son’s life. Having split from his family, he wanted to be able to have his son to stay with him. That was his motivation to escape the hostel and he highlighted the role the HWC had played in helping him achieve this:

“It helped me mentally because I was starting to get depressed because I couldn’t get my boy to stay over with me, I couldnae have him in the hostel, so I missed having him overnight and all that. I was used to spending every day with him.”

(CP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

When he was interviewed again in 2014, this time as a coach with SSS, this player had turned his life around. He was earning a steady income through his role with SSS and had moved into a permanent home. However, when asked about what he valued in life his answer had evolved slightly from the response given 3 years earlier:

“It’s brilliant now cos I get my wee man over at weekends and he can stay with me now, so he’s back in my life. He *is* my life. I work hard so we can go out together and go and do things like go to a (football) match or I can go and buy him clothes or a toy and stuff.”

(CP4/M/GN/ SSSC, 16/4/2014)

This evidence highlights that changing environments, broadening horizons and creating opportunities, all of which occurred through participation in street soccer, did not necessarily result in lasting satisfaction. Through the narratives provided by the players and former players it became evident that expansion of capabilities changed their realities and what they value in life. Players did not necessarily become happy or perceive themselves to be leading a life which they valued even when they had achieved that which they previously thought was a valuable life. Instead, their views were malleable. They evolved and changed as new perspectives opened by the emerging opportunities increased their levels of awareness and expectation.

Preferences are revealed through the actions people perform or choices they make (Sen, 2002:121-157). Yet they tend to be formed by the environment and circumstances in which people are socialised, that is: they are adapted to their personal norm or reality. This can have both positive and negative consequences and points to the need for sport as education, sport as lessons for life, most of all, ethical sport. The earlier evidence from FP4/M/GN highlighted this when he conveyed how quickly this vulnerable group can regress back into negative cycles if they are in the wrong environment. This is one reason the local work of SSS is so important; it provides the positive local community and partnerships for this vulnerable group.

If there is an increased tendency for vulnerable individuals to be environmentally and socially influenced in their choices, then preferences revealed through personal choices made are limiting. Yet, one could argue that the lack of full perception of what is possible in the world can also benefit such vulnerable groups. Happiness and gratitude of the reality of their life may arguably be easier to achieve without knowledge of the alternatives possible. Isn't a happy life that which everyone

ultimately seeks? However, such a view is also limited in that it is singularly embedded in utility and not in the expansion of capabilities central to the capability approach and to human development.

The implications of this for organisations such as SSS and HWC should not be ignored. Many homeless participants, including CP4/M/GN, suffer mental health or addiction related issues which suggest the need for education focussed on the development of happiness and gratitude. However the educational option available within SSS is 'Football Works' which, in line with many SDP projects, develops life skills in conjunction with sports coaching. While this does provide some valuable skills for these individuals, it is questionable if it is to the extent required. It is the belief within this thesis that there needs to be more considered approaches to educational opportunities offered both locally and by the HWC. In particular, consideration should be given to more focus on the spiritual elements of gratitude and happiness alongside the development of life skills.

Furthermore, these evolving expectations exhibited by players as they progress through their personal pathways out of homelessness need to be managed at the HWC. To date, the HWC has been hosted in an array of leading world cities; Melbourne, Milan, Paris, Edinburgh to name but a few. For those players from the GS who are arguably the neediest, their realities and expectations have been shaped within the very limiting parameters of their 'home' environment. In this and through the local opportunities provided by organisations similar to SSS, they have progressed in their development of capabilities to an extent which enables them to be selected for the HWC and in doing so are exposed to international travel and a city of another reality. Just as the HWC is a celebration for many reaching the end of their journey out of homelessness, particularly so those from the GN, it also has the

potential to be a set-back for some, particularly those from the GS and in this sense there is little wonder the HWC is vulnerable to runaways. This exemplifies what Sen referred to as “intended changes and unintended consequences” (1999: 279) and which suggests the need for a greater level of consideration of these unintended consequences within the HWC, SSS and indeed other exponents of SDP.

Aside from such considerations, the evidence which emerged from this research was overwhelmingly positive. Both the HWC and SSS demonstrated their ability to change the perception of what is possible and improve the reality for those engaging in street soccer:

“Some of the guys who’ve been previously, again because of their involvement and that, go back to Glasgow and the whole experience allows you to progress as well, get the right tenancy and into full time employment. I know a few of the boys who’ve been involved over the past few years I’m kind of friends with they’re now in their own tenancy and in full time employment. I play football with quite a few of them, you know what I mean, contacts stay - so it’s priceless. The whole experience opens your eyes to what’s possible – it’s amazing.”

(FP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

The evidence from 2011 and 2014 of street soccer developing capabilities on a pathway is significant in its parallels to the pathways understood in relation to homelessness. It also has implications for the ways in which support personnel work with people on these pathways and for the types and timing of opportunities offered at different stages of the pathway.

The players are only part of the pathway and broader narrative of the HWC and SSS. Other personnel contribute and influence to the development of player capabilities within these pathways, and earlier on, in chapter 6, the impact of volunteers and others began to emerge. It is therefore necessary to return to a broader prism and

consider the development of capabilities in a broader audience. This evidence is based on the range of interviews conducted in 2011 at the HWC.

7.6 Expanding Capabilities in a Broader Audience

Previous research has considered the impact of street soccer in relation to the spectators (Sherry, 2010) and as part of the research conducted in 2011, I interviewed a broader audience. This went beyond simply building on the work of Sherry to examine the impact, as elucidated by capabilities, of the HWC on not only spectators, but also on volunteers and a referee working at the HWC tournament. This section examines the evidence from these three groups.

Where Sherry (2010) considered spectators in relation to the development of social capital, the ways in which capabilities are developed has not previously been considered. This research found the capabilities of spectators to be expanded in two main ways: (i) expansion of awareness of homelessness as a social problem and, (ii) development of a more positive perception of the capabilities of homeless people:

“I’m just surprised that these people here are actually homeless – it’s really impressive. I’m just here on holiday but seeing this has brought these people to my attention more.”

(S1, 27/8/2011)

“Now I will see the homeless differently. They can play so well and seem so able.”

(S2, 27/8/2011)

“The whole event is amazing. I am on holiday and to see this at the Eiffel Tower made me wonder what event it was so I came in to look. I can’t believe it is all for homeless people and that this soccer is played by them.”

(S3, 27/8/2011)

“I will look at them in a different way now.”

(S1, 27/8/2011)

The earlier contextual review highlighted that one objective of the HWC is to raise awareness of the problem of homelessness. Based on the evidence from these spectators, it seems that it is indeed raising awareness of homelessness. The awareness within the spectator group was heightened and in doing so this has the potential to create opportunities for homeless participants within the broader community and this will be discussed in more detail later.

The perspectives of volunteers from the local (Parisian) community working at the 2011 HWC concurred with that of the spectators. Volunteers expressed their surprise at the capabilities of the homeless players, expressing how this had changed their outlook towards them:

“I think it’s a good game, it is good fair play. I like to work here, I enjoy it...I hope it will change something. I hope there is no HWC next year.

(V5, 26/8/2011)

“We have some homeless volunteers and the volunteers are included in all the organisation with us, the local committee of organisation and we work together equal and with a very good feeling I think. It’s very important to see that if you let you prejudices and only you come with the same objective, we have no problem, it’s realistic to see and it’s easy, it’s very easy.”

(V2, 26/8/2011)

Another volunteer working at the 2011 HWC was a referee who highlighted his involvement:

“...because I work as a teacher in Amsterdam so I see a lot of homeless people and it’s one of our social lives to get involved. When you’re in school in Holland, you must do some social projects so I’d already been with the homeless people in contact, involved with them...Behind every person that is homeless is a story and sometimes an incredible story that you cannot see in movies or that kind of thing, that you cannot believe that it has actually happened what they have done. So it is good that they have re-integrated, have a new life, try to get their rhythm back and that kind of thing. This is a bit of structure in their lives. I think football is a great opportunity to do it.”

(V4, 28/8/2011)

Through his local contact with homeless people he had come to understand the personal pathways these homeless players take. In learning of their life circumstances and challenges, he reported that he felt compelled to become involved and give of his time. In return, this provided him with self-satisfaction.

Although limited, undertaking these additional interviews enabled understanding of the positive shifts that engagement with homeless people was able to bring to the perspectives of a broad group of people. All had increased their empathy towards the homeless community and begun to understand the capabilities and potentials which exist within them as human beings. By realising that they can engage with homeless people in a mutually beneficial way to achieve mutually beneficial achievements, the catalyst of the 2011 HWC exhibited the potential to create longer term, sustainable personal and community paradigm shifts. In doing so, the HWC expanded the reach of the development of capabilities in both individual and community senses and

opened a channel for linking and bonding capabilities between the homeless and broader communities.

This evidence, although something of a footnote to the main narrative of this thesis is important nonetheless. It tells of the interconnected nature of all communities within local and global society and the need to unite these in order to bring about positive change. In doing so it points to the significance of the new ‘glocal’ thinking which is beginning to emerge (Gilabert, 2012). Indeed, it emerged that it was only because of the connection between the global and local communities that the possibilities, opportunities and life chances emerged and were provided for the homeless participants. The HWC in particular was an effective vehicle to develop these connections. Based on the evidence from this research, the HWC enabled broader social and personal changes in communities beyond simply the homeless participants themselves and these served to benefit everyone, not just the homeless.

There is one final group critical within this community which warrants special consideration within the presentation of the research findings: women. Evidence of the expansion of the capabilities of women through the HWC and SSS is now considered.

7.7 The Capabilities of Women

I am considering the cause of homeless women separately at this point in response to Nussbaum (2000: I), who in *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*, argues for gender sensitive approaches which focus on the problems of women in the GS, highlighting:

“Women in much of the world lack support for fundamental functions of a human life. They are less well nourished than men,

less healthy, more vulnerable to physical violence and sexual abuse. They are less likely than men to be literate, and still less likely to have pre-professional or technical education...women have fewer opportunities than men to live free from fear and to enjoy rewarding types of live...”

In doing so, Nussbaum conveys a necessity for this thesis, grounded as it is in a capability perspective, to consider the development of capabilities in women if a genuine understanding of the expansion of capabilities through street soccer is to be achieved. This section examines this by considering the types of capability women reported and the contribution street soccer made in their expansion. The evidence presented is based solely on the findings from the 2011 research where 8 out of the 12 players who were interviewed were female. No females from the 2014 research with SSS were available to participate which in itself is damning evidence and this will be discussed further within this discourse.

7.7.1 Types of Capability

The capabilities reported by women were not atypical. They fell within the same categories presented earlier in this chapter, whereby women reported perceptions that were similar to those cited by their male counterparts. For example, player CP1/F/GS was dreaming of becoming a professional footballer, while player CP5/F/GN had played high level football prior to her social problems and subsequent homelessness and had aspirations to return to a high playing level once again.

There did emerge one notable dichotomy between male and female responses. For women, feelings of friendships and family were conveyed as greater priorities to them:

“...so I’ll just be happy when I can make as many friends as possible.”

(CP9/F/GN, 26/8/2011)

“We are very happy because of all the new friends we have made.”

(CP1/F/GS, 27/8/2011)

Earlier in this thesis the broad benefits of participation in sport to psychological and emotional health were presented. In the responses of these women, being happy and having social contact is important, which we have come to understand as essential to these aspects of health. Thus, the expansion of these capabilities is critical to psychological health. The illumination of these should not be undervalued, since one of the main challenges facing vulnerable women, West (2014: 1) highlights is lack of access and attention to their health:

“Sen calculates that if women in Asia and North Africa were given the same health care and attention, the world would have 100 million more women.”

7.7.2 Contribution of HWC to Expansion of Women’s Capabilities

The evidence from 2011 suggests the HWC helps the expansion of capabilities in women through three distinct ways: (i) the tournament format, (ii) role modelling, education and leadership role, and (iii) raising awareness. Yet evidence also highlighted the problems faced by women and by organisations concerned with social transformation and attempting to engage women. In its consideration of all evidence, this section will provide a comprehensive account of women’s engagement and expanding capabilities at the 2011 HWC.

Historical quantitative evidence highlights women have always been included in the HWC, at first as part of mixed gender teams. However, in 2008 the option of playing for the Women's HWC was added to the selection of cups and trophies. Eight teams subsequently entered that first woman's only contest in 2008 and by 2011 that figure had risen to 16 nations. Most recent figures from 2014 show that only 12 women's teams took part and this regression and overall poor growth of women's participation is diametrically opposite that of the HWC, particularly in its early years.

The evidence from 2011 demonstrated a marginalised involvement of women in another way too: the longitudinal accounts of the development of capabilities presented in this thesis are limited to five male players. Despite considerable effort, it was not possible to identify one female former player at the 2011 HWC, which implies their lack of re-involvement.

Yet as we have seen in all the evidence presented, the women playing in 2011, with the expectation of the Scottish player who did not stay for the duration of the tournament, found the HWC to be a positive experience. Those engaged in it expanded their capabilities in a variety of ways. Thus the reason for this lack of wider female engagement in the HWC has not yet been determined nor is it the purpose of this thesis to do so. Nonetheless, brief consideration is now given to the barriers which may exist.

It may be that the competitive nature of the tournament contributes to the exclusion of women. That five nations from the 2011 Women's HWC did not enter in 2012 (France, Haiti, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria), would seem supportive of this hypothesis. However that 2011 Women's HWC winners Kenya did not enter the 2012 event goes some way to refute this, although later evidence emerged which highlighted Kenya's

absence was enforced due to failure to comply with HWC regulations (Ball, 23/3/12).

Another possibility is that homeless women may feel that football (soccer) is a male sport and not an attractive proposition for them. Indeed, literature supports that educational as well as racial-ethnic differences influence sporting selections (Onge and Krueger, 2011), with Sherry (2010) suggesting different groups need different activities. Therefore perhaps a non-competitive soccer tournament or indeed a hockey or netball tournament may be more appealing and inclusive to homeless women.

Evidence suggests the underlying cause of the poor participation rates may more likely be deeper societal issues, with the evidence from 2011 supporting the idea that socio-cultural factors contribute significantly to the marginalised role of women in many global societies. This is exemplified by one male leader of the Malawian women's who described the role of women within their local street soccer programme as connected to the social enterprise rather than participating in the sport itself:

“...where women sit down, instead of gossiping, we can give them something to do... so this is where the women when they're gossiping, now we can create another activity for them.”

(Patricio, 26/8/2011)

Both in content and tone, this leader typifies the way in which women are often seen:

“Women have all too often been treated as the supporters of the ends of others, rather than as ends in their own right.”

(Nussbaum, 2000: 5)

Through role modelling, education and leadership, the evidence highlights that the HWC foundation are actively addressing this problem. Indeed, this limited engagement of female players was not the result of lack of role models or leadership. Women hold crucial leadership positions in the HWC: as highlighted earlier, I interviewed the HWC Foundation International Partnership Manager, Deb Ball in 2012 as part of this research. In this role she is a global face of the HWC and through her work with many of the partners in local projects she is involved in educating locals, including Particio (26/8/2011):

“...we have received training from our International partners, through Debs (HWC), she’s the one that helped us to say now, this is the focus, this is the path we need to take now, so now this time around we are saying to ourselves that our main focus is on the football, but we want to take this project to different avenues. One is the vocational work, so one person can create income generating activities so that the programme is self sustaining...we are bringing women, through this group of women we feel we can reach more...women can also use this to also help other communities...”

The importance of this is significant for the engagement of women. As a woman, as the HWC educator and as a global face of the HWC, Deb Ball contributes to the expansion of woman in multiple ways. She helps change perceptions and stereotypes. As the response of one player (FP3/M/GS, 26/8/2011) interviewed in 2011 suggested, this was impactful:

“When I go home, I want to train the girls, I want to coach and the next time (for) them to depend on themselves because in our country women empowerment, it’s not there, so it’s better to empower the women and we actually focus on other things, that’s what I want because the knowledge I have, I have to pass to some other people, also to take it to another heights.”

The HWC is more than simply a role model for women: it is an inspiration. One female player (CP1/F/GS, 27/8/2012) reported her drive, vision and ambition to be part of the HWC came through the potential she saw in it to lift her family out of the abject poverty in which they lived:

“I was in school, but I get out of school when my father died so we were just playing with my friends, just playing somewhere around and we saw some posters that there would be the selection somewhere to get people to go and play in France. So I told myself, I can do it, I can make it so I found a team and went to play for them and I was picked there. So I was picked from that team...It was in March when I saw the posters and I started training, training and was picked...They said the Kenya team has never played before and so we trained every week; training, training, training.

I’m living with my mum and with my sisters and brothers because you see I need to help them so they can get their supper. Because in my family, we are not living good because sometimes we’re looking for things to wear on our feet, and for food, we are just surviving...Even we are just looking for something to eat, so if I can get to go and play for another team, then I will help my family very much and I would like to do that... When I get a team, then I hope that I can help support them...”

In this sense, the HWC is the incentive to attract (female) players into sport. On the basis of the evidence provided by this player, the women exhibited the same rationale as their male counterparts to become involved in the HWC. Both aspired to play soccer, to travel and to be able to feed their families.

One final way in which the evidence highlighted the HWC as contributing to the expansion of capabilities of women is through awareness. In raising awareness of street soccer opportunities, the HWC illuminates the potential of women to play sport and to fulfil broader social roles and perhaps most poignantly, it raises awareness of the plight of women, as Young (2011) reported:

“I hear news that two of the Cameroon women's team which took part in the 2008 Homeless World Cup in Melbourne have died of Aids.”

In this role the HWC contributes a significant precursor to change, the power of which should not be underestimated. In concluding this section it is important to acknowledge that broader social and cultural barriers to women's participation in the HWC exist. However in its very essence, the HWC is about inclusion and overcoming social barriers and it is clearly demonstrating effort to overcome these barriers.

Gender equity is at the forefront of much international development where it is recognised that the goals of long-term sustainable development can only be achieved when the potential of women is harnessed (Asian Development Bank, 2013). The evidence presented in this research points to the potential of the HWC and street soccer to make significant contributions to this, but highlights the need for targeted, sustained and multi-faceted approaches if this is to be successful. For empowerment of women within street soccer, it seems that opportunity alone is not sufficient, but more consideration needs given to the processes driving the international network of street soccer organisations. Indeed, Sen (1999: 298) himself highlights the need for both for development as freedom to be achieved:

“...freedom is an inherently diverse concept, which involves...considerations of processes as well as substantive opportunities.”

These findings from the women's participation contrast to those of the men's, where the evidence presented highlighted the annual growth of the tournament. This

suggests that for men, both opportunity and process were suffice, so let us consider this now, since opportunities in particular play a central role in how development is elucidated within the capability approach.

7.8 Capability and Opportunity at the HWC and SSS

“This is just an unbelievable opportunity for someone, you know, there’s always something there. If you want to, you will find it.”

(CP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

For Sen (1999) capabilities are the substantive freedoms one has reason to value and a capability set represents the freedom to achieve, that is: the alternatives or opportunities which exist for you or what you are substantively free to do. The findings of this research with the HWC and SSS illuminate multiple opportunities are facilitated through these street soccer organisations: (i) playing opportunities, (ii) social opportunities, (iii) opportunity to travel, (iv) employment opportunities, (v) opportunity to access support services, and (vi) educational opportunities. These are now considered.

Perhaps most visible were the playing opportunities provided by both organisations which enabled homeless people to simply meet and play soccer:

“I found that I had this opportunity to get back into football, I used to play as when I was young so it was good to just know there was somewhere I could come and do something I loved.”

(SSS3, 10/3/2014)

“See some of the opportunities some people can get, obviously the HWC and that, it’s like life changing. I didn’t fall in the category because I’ve been in my tenancy for about 6 year now, so I’m quite

steady with my housing and that stuff but see the opportunities you can get, see that HWC, that's amazing."

(SSS5, 12/3/2014)

"Something I really, really enjoy is football and it's something to give me a wee bit of structure about my week..."

(SSS1, 10/3/2014)

"...you know in Ghana we love football and when there is football you know everybody comes together and that's why I'm using football because football is everything"

(FP1/M/GS, 26/8/2011)

This opportunity to play is more evident in the local organisation (SSS) than the annual tournament format since SSS and other local street soccer entities provide daily or weekly opportunities to play, where the HWC is an annual event. In the connection between SSS and HWC, there exists the extension of opportunities and the ability to cater for all aspirations and needs which in its breadth is important to capturing as many vulnerable players as possible.

For many of those interviewed involvement in street soccer went beyond the simple chance to play. It was concerned with opportunities to achieve broader benefits, such as developing social interaction and relationships:

"...we go out eating or something like that. It's mostly the friendships, but it's important to feel part of something together."

(CP2/M/GN, 26/8/2011)

"I've made loads and loads of new friends, and lots and lots of opportunities have opened up for me."

(CP5/F/GN, 27/8/2011)

SSS and in particular the HWC, also opened up the opportunity for many participants, such as FP4/M/GS (28/8/2011), to travel:

“You know, if it wasn’t for football then I would never have travelled. Because of football I have travelled to so many places now.”

One particularly critical way in which the HWC and SSS created opportunity was in employment. As social enterprises, and in their close connections with the philosophy of the Big Issue, there existed evidence of both HWC and SSS developing social and economic opportunities. Sen (1999: 21) describes these as critical for inclusion and overcoming problem of homelessness.

“Among its manifold effects, unemployment contributes to the “social exclusion” of some groups, and it leads to losses of self-reliance, self-confidence and psychological and physical health. Indeed it is difficult to escape a sense of manifest incongruity in contemporary European attempts to move to a more “self-help” social climate without devising adequate policies for reducing the massive and intolerable levels of unemployment that make such self-help extremely difficult.”

Thus the creation of these employment opportunities are important features of the HWC and SSS and critical to their success in developing people. As one player (SSS7, 16/4/2014) highlighted:

“I know there’s at least 2 people who’ve started employment and its all through SSS so there is opportunities. It’s about getting your skills better first isn’t it. Cos once you’ve got good skills, you can tell your employer, then hopefully – it’s just about getting a chance. It’s hard in Scotland getting a job...as I say even 2 year ago, I never felt ready to work within myself. Today, I’m actively seeking employment, I’m doing everything I can and it gives you that choice, its gives you a lot of choices in your life with the courses and maybe even jobs.”

Of these employment opportunities, it was the opportunity to coach which was most frequently cited as a personal highlight of street soccer. This was identified by numerous players:

“...I do voluntary coaching whatever may be and try to better myself again, try to get a life started again. Touch wood, things have gone that way; I’ve got a house, I’m going to have my son back staying with me again and hopefully now I going to get back to work, trying to get a job.”

(CP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011)

“Rab and Barry (Scotland players in 2011) are training to be coaches; they’re in our Academy programme, so they’re now coaching for us. They’re still in homeless accommodation, but they’re out coaching at some of our sessions. In the girl’s sessions, we’re looking for that to grow as well so all the girls are saying ‘can we still come back to street soccer’ and I’m saying ‘of course, look you’re the ambassadors, it’s your job to get more people.’”

(Duke,28/8/2011)

This was not limited to men, but one female player also gained the opportunity to enter employment as a coach:

“I’ve got a job with street soccer as well now so that’s a huge thing in my life.”

(CP5/F/GN, 27/8/2011)

Further, and contrary to other aspects of the evidence presented, opportunity was not limited to the GN. Rather it was as apparent in players from the GS as it was from those of the GN. One former HWC player interviewed in 2011 as coach of Ghana (FP1/M/GS, 26/8/2011) highlighted how he uses himself as the role model of what is possible through the opportunity created by the HWC:

“I tell them that football can change your life. That’s what I’m trying to do. A football changed my life and it can change theirs too. That’s what I tell my players now.”

In the creation of coaching opportunities, the HWC and SSS fulfil two critical roles: firstly, they remove barriers and secondly, they provide an opportunity of choice, where these homeless participants can do something of personal value. This notion of choice is implicit within the capability approach and is explored in more detail in the next chapter. In doing so the HWC and SSS enable players to progress into employment within the relatively safe, known and non-threatening confines of street soccer which ensure these vulnerable players were kept engaged and continued to build capabilities.

The opportunity they also provide for participants to access support services follows much the same template. Indeed, much of the reason for the creation of these opportunities seems to be because of the strategic deployment of support services and creation of partnerships which the HWC and local street soccer enterprises such as SSS utilise. As the earlier contextual evidence highlighted, these support services are predominantly designed to help the homeless participants fulfil their educational and health needs, although in some cases they extended beyond to create opportunities for players to gain housing and employment. As the manager of the Cambodian team (Grogan, 27/8/2011) highlighted:

“We’ve got 5 partner organisations and they offer health services, education, accommodation, food. So they work very closely with us...”

This manager was himself qualified as a social worker and employed as a Youth Development Officer. As such he, like many others working at the 2011 HWC, was

able to offer the level of support and expertise necessary when dealing with vulnerable people. Similar evidence of linking services together was evident in local partner organisations across the globe:

“So we have provided them with a training home, coaching, football coaching, but this time now after 2008, we are now discovering new phenomenon’s of opening up vocational work, interpretation, using football as a tool for development.”

(Patricio, 26/8/2011)

“What we’re trying to say is, ah, through other working partners, we are looking at a growth sport industry where we want to use the other culture projects that can be sold and to generate money that can also deliver food.”

(FP3, 26/8/2011)

“...integrated into programmes that are already there and we’re now developing that to the point where we’re going to be delivering this a couple to times to the SAMH, the mental health organisation, so we’re going to do that. We’re looking to the likes of Addiewell Prison, re-offenders, how we can get them back into society without them going back into prison, that’s the biggest problem; they keep re-offending. We’re going to work with them for so many weeks in and so many weeks out and that’ll integrate through getting them involved in football and then they’ll be able to look at the sort of leagues that we’re starting and it’s the purpose each year to start to reach these people more and more.”

(FP4/M/GN,28/8/2011)

“I work for a homeless organisation back in Glasgow and some of the services links in with it (street soccer), but I’ve been involved myself as a service user, do you know what I mean, and I’ve managed to kind of get our service get a football team involved from our service with the street soccer and that’s helped myself and the other staff members build up relationships with the guys we work with, do you know what I mean, so the whole all round effect has been amazing. “

(FP4/M/GN,28/8/2011)

The value and importance of this network of support services which players have the opportunity to access is perhaps best exemplified by former HWC player, David Duke (Duke, 28/8/2011):

It has and it's opened my eyes and I've matured and I'm just using the experience that I had to kind of help others. I get up in the morning, we're like, it's great I, we're in the final you know the day but the first thing I'm thinking about is we've got 3 people in that team that are going through recovery. What's the impact on this going to have on the people going through recovery 'cause they win it and, on a high, they might go and drink, the first thing they want to do is go to a pub and celebrate, well no, because we can't, it's no right. And if they lose, they're right down, lose a final, so it's hard. One of the support staff, Tam, who played in 2008, he's been through it himself, still attends meetings and that so he's going to...his job today is to monitor them to make sure they're in the right place."

David's words demonstrate that such is the level of awareness amongst staff working with the teams that the primary focus of the HWC is on developing the individual and not about winning soccer. Even as a former HWC player and enthusiastic footballer, David remains focussed on players as people not as footballers, even though they are about to play in the HWC final.

This has not occurred by chance, nor only because David is an outstanding example and proponent of the social benefits of the HWC. Rather it illuminates the outcomes of this opportunity aspect and its importance to the development of people. Inherent within this and to the ways and extent to which players and former players such as David can develop, is the role of education.

The educational opportunities presented by the HWC and SSS extend within and beyond the organisations themselves. The previous chapter elucidated the educational opportunities presented by SSS through their Football Works program and the connections to further and higher educational institutions. These have the potential to enable personal capabilities to be accessed and built but there is also evidence of a much broader education which creates opportunities. Evidence suggests the HWC, in raising awareness of homelessness, has the potential to open opportunities for homeless players to access further work, educational, cultural or social opportunities beyond the initial expansion.

Opportunity and capability are inextricably connected and both are essential to the development of people, concern of which is at the heart of the capability approach. In this section the evidence presented enables understanding of the ways in which HWC and SSS help participants with the development of these critical aspects. It is increasingly apparent these organisations have multiple and different roles to play in creating both capability and opportunity towards a life of value. In doing so both open avenues of possibility within the global community which are enhanced by their partnership approach and broader community work. Thus the findings of this research support the idea of sport as developing opportunities.

7.9 Conclusion

This chapter has presented findings from the interviews conducted during the 2011 HWC and SSS in 2014. This primary evidence base has also drawn upon annual reports and secondary sources to further substantiate the development of the problematic that is central to this study. It is acknowledged that the structure of the interviews highlighted certain themes and suppressed others but that is the nature of

any problematic that is informed by a body of theory such as the one that is being used in this thesis. Central to the purpose of this chapter was to expound the expansion of capabilities and the extent to which street soccer impacted on these. In doing so it presents an understanding of the HWC and SSS through a new prism: as vehicles for the expansion of capabilities. It has also highlighted the extent to which involvement in and around soccer can act as or facilitate pathways in and out of homelessness.

The evidence highlighted the extensive range of capabilities built through participation. These may be summarised as: social, emotional, psychological, physical, and educational and health related capabilities. The evidence suggests that as a result of the development of these capabilities, the players were able to progress to sustain themselves, build and rebuild relationships and gain access to employment and housing. In doing so they were able to realise, or at least become closer to realising, that which is at the root of Sen's thinking about a good and valuable life as being one of genuine choice and development as freedom.

The range of interviews conducted in 2011 also enabled application of a broader lens on the expansion of capabilities which found that different people, serving different roles, as coaches, volunteers, managers and support workers, were similarly able to expand their personal capabilities through their involvement in street soccer. Furthermore they were able to contribute to the expansion of capabilities in players and it is through the summation of the unique contribution each makes that the development of capabilities in the players is enhanced.

The evidence also illuminated both the HWC and SSS (sport) as an escape from poverty and homelessness. This notion of sport as an escape is not new (Jarvie, 2007) and this evidence suggests participants escape in at least two quite distinct ways: (i) to forget, albeit momentarily, the problems associated with their lives, and (ii) to use capabilities developed through street soccer as the escape from poverty and homelessness. This may have been through finding roles such as coaching or developing enterprise in the form of a local street soccer enterprise, as David Duke did in Scotland, or through the sale of local craft linked to local street soccer projects as in the GS partner nations. In this sense the HWC and SSS provided not just a momentary immersion in sport as an escape but lasting opportunity to escape from poverty and homelessness, build resources of hope and win further freedoms for many of the the individuals.

It is in addressing these problems in an interconnected way that SSS and the HWC facilitate social change. They unite social enterprise, education, health and support services through sport. As such, street soccer and football become both the tool of engagement and the platform for the development of capabilities which directly impact upon the issues affecting some of the most vulnerable, homeless and poor. The findings presented in this chapter reinforce the role sport plays as not simply sport but sport plus. This will now be built upon further in the next chapter, which considers the evidence generated from the two street soccer case studies.

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented evidence of the expansion of capabilities through the HWC and SSS. In doing so, the ways in which street soccer was responsible for the expansion of capabilities was elucidated. The purpose of this chapter is to build on this by discussing the implications of the findings within the context of understanding sport as the expansion of capabilities and consequently sport as freedom.

By returning to a broader prism, this chapter builds on the knowledge generated by this research in order to understand the implications and possibilities a capabilities perspective provides for sport and its use as a social tool. Throughout this thesis there has existed the overwhelming sense that sport has the potential to meet social objectives and this chapter furthers the case for understanding this potential as capabilities.

More specifically, this chapter will elucidate the myriad of ways in which sport may be utilised not only to ameliorate, but also as a solution to poverty and homelessness through consideration of: (i) street soccer as a means and an end for homeless participants, (ii) levels of capability, (iii) street soccer as agency and choice, and (iv) how sport may be re-defined as the expansion of capabilities. Thus sport can be thought of as contributing to a capability set or an alternative capability set which in turn can assist with the development of freedoms, choices and opportunities.

8.2 Street Soccer: A Means and an End for Homeless Participants

The expansion of freedom is both the principal means and primary end of development (Sen,1999: 36). The evidence presented in this thesis supports the potential of sport to expand freedoms, whereby sport is the vehicle to achieve capabilities that are both the principal means and the primary end for these homeless and vulnerable participants. It suggests street soccer acted as a means and an end for participants in a number of ways: (i) utilitarian; (ii) inclusionary, (iii) economic, (iv) feminist, (v) educational, and (vi) health. These will now be considered in greater detail.

8.2.1 A Means and an End in a Utilitarian Sense

Street soccer was both the means and end to enjoyment and happiness for many participants, as one player (CP1/F/GS, 27/8/2011) highlighted:

“We are very happy because of all the new friends we have made.”

Playing street soccer made participants happy during participation in the games themselves, and as result of the ‘added value’, or the other ‘ends’ it brought to their lives including: making friends and feeling healthier. This is both difficult to measure and difficult to achieve, particularly in marginalised and vulnerable groups. Therefore this evidence of sport (street soccer/football) as utilitarian means and end for its homeless participants and as conveyed through capabilities is important.

Evidence also suggested street soccer as a means and an end in a utilitarian sense was not limited to players, but extended to the broader audience too. As one volunteer (V5, 27/8/2011) explained:

“I think it’s a good game, it is good fair play. I like to work here, I enjoy it...I hope it will change something. I hope there is no HWC next year.

In its ability to broaden understanding, develop empathy and connect the audience to the participants, there was a sense of street soccer as utility. Furthermore, in the HWC's extended global reach, achieved through its profile, the annual rotation of host nation and televised coverage of the tournament, the HWC became sport entertainment (utility) and in doing so the awareness of the problem of homelessness is raised and a further 'end' achieved.

Indeed the strength of the case for street soccer (sport) as both a means and an end of development is rooted in such utility. Street soccer increased positive outcomes and feelings whilst simultaneously developing capabilities which enabled participants to achieve consequential 'ends'.

8.2.2 A Means and an End in an Inclusionary Sense

The evidence from this research also suggests street soccer acts as a means and an end in an inclusionary sense. Through the HWC and SSS, homeless and vulnerable players have the opportunity and choice to participate in street soccer regardless of health, gender, age, vulnerability or ability. In doing so, players are socially included and many are then able, through soccer, to progress to become social included and (re)integrated within broader society too.

Earlier this thesis illuminated social exclusion as the dominant paradigm in which poverty and the social role of sport have been regarded. Indeed, the limitations of this were in part the inspiration for this thesis which suggests that by understanding sport as capability, then inclusion as a means and an end of development, and the ability of sport to achieve this are able to be more clearly delineated.

The evidence presented in chapters 6 and 7 illuminated the ways in which the HWC and SSS built inclusion through the creation of equitable life chances and through the local and international networks which connected participants to critical social elements. The ways in which they achieved this were interrelated and complimentary. SSS acted as the initial point of inclusion, offering the sporting hook to bring people into the street soccer network, while HWC acted as the conduit to a global community.

Once involved in street soccer the players develop friendships, which may be understood as the development of bonding capital or as capability. Or they linked into addiction or mental health agencies to develop other capabilities. They are included in team environments to play with evidence highlighting that player's progress to broader inclusion through employment, training and education. In doing so they achieved inclusion as both means and end.

8.2.3 A Means and an End in an Economic Sense

The HWC and SSS may also be understood as agents of economic means and end. Both are social enterprises, but whilst focused on social benefits, both are also vehicles of economic expansion. Reflecting on the origins of the HWC, Young (2005) highlighted the role enterprise played in its inception; that homeless people needed 'a hand up not a hand out' and the evidence from this research highlights this philosophy remains at the heart of the HWC and is replicated in SSS too.

The evidence from the HWC case study highlighted teams using the tournament as an international marketplace to sell locally made craft to spectators and players from other nations. Interviews with personnel from GS nations established that local street soccer programmes were transforming into hubs of enterprise and education. In

doing so they were economically benefiting a broader community and the evidence of the Malawian women making craft as part of the local street soccer program powerfully demonstrates this. This in turn acted as a means for change on a different level too: that of the roles of women and this is considered separately in just a moment.

A preeminent demonstration of street soccer as an economic means and an economic end is the example of SSS, where founder David Duke provides the perfect role model of this. David's story alongside that of CP4/M/GN/SSC, who I came to know through this research firstly as a player at the 2011 HWC and in 2014 as a coach working for SSS, demonstrate the strength of both organisations as economic development through socio-economic development.

This narrative is further supported by the cycle of re-involvement of the former players I came to know through the HWC. Some former players had been able to progress to become coaches and managers and this involvement and re-involvement was both a means and end in the respect that through giving of the opportunity for re-involvement came multiple additional outcomes including the continued expansion of capabilities, work opportunities and the development of social and economic capital. In these different levels of economic use and different economic outcomes, this research has highlighted the multi-dimensional abilities of sport as an economic and socio-economic tool.

8.2.4 A Means and an End in a Feminist Sense

The evidence from 2011 and 2014 highlighted that, whilst women's values and capabilities largely align to the male participants, there emerged a lack of engagement and involvement of women in both the HWC and SSS. This needs

urgently addressed, particularly as it is reflective of the broader social barriers faced by women. This research does highlight the potential of street soccer, or perhaps more appropriately sport in general, as a means and end.

Both the HWC and SSS offer opportunities for women to play, either as part of mixed teams or since the 2008 HWC, as part of women only teams. In doing so, the women participating reported they felt better, fitter and had made social connections. Engagement of women in street soccer brought further accumulative benefits: it provided role models so more women would feel inspired and become involved in street soccer; it raised awareness of homelessness as a women's problem, and it offered an increasing web of economic chances to a broader group of women not actually playing street soccer, but engaged in the local project in other ways. Further, the example of the Malawian women provided earlier highlighted the ability of street soccer to change perceptions of what women are and can be. In this respect the HWC and SSS acted as a means and end for females in many respects.

This promotion of women in society through the involvement of women in street soccer extended beyond playing and was evident through the enterprise linked to many projects in the GS illuminated by this research. In these, women were involved in street soccer specifically because of economic development and not for the sport itself. Through understanding the roles of women as means and ends this research highlights the HWC and SSS as an expansion of the female participants 'self' as well as an expansion of women in society in general.

8.2.5 A Means and an End in an Educational Sense

Repeatedly in his message of the need for the development of vital individual capabilities as both a means and an end, Sen returns to education as a priority, as he highlighted in a recent interview:

“Education and health care are not only vital for quality of life, they have much to contribute to economic development and social change. For modern production, especially for the world market, quality control is essential, and in this, it is crucial that people can read instructions and specifications. Also, education and health help people to search for new opportunities and to take up new jobs”

(Jain, 4/7/2013)

The connection between street soccer and education emerged as a critical aspect of the work of SSS in particular. Through this research, capability expansion as a pathway from SSS to the HWC was central to the individual progress players were able to make.

Education as a means was evident in SSS through player’s initial involvement in the football and soccer it offered. This was embedded in their fair play philosophy, which may be interpreted in both playing fairly on the field and as the notion of giving the homeless players a ‘fair chance’ in life. Through the promotion of fair play and engagement in soccer / football, the participants at SSS were able to develop a range of capabilities such as confidence which, whilst very basic, were the essential foundations from which to step forward in life. The simplicity in this educational lesson through sport should not be underrated as it proved to be the catalyst for personal change.

Through using soccer / football the coaching staff at SSS harnessed the power of sport and the unique physical and emotional engagement it provides to develop these most basic yet significant skills. In doing so they enabled players to progress into

more formal educational opportunities they offered such as the Football Works programme or progress to further educational opportunities, employment and a better quality of life.

As already touched upon, education was only half of the narrative Sen (1999:90) highlighted as essential to quality of life. Health too is necessary and indeed it is this combination of health and education which are the focus of the HDR's for which the capability approach provides the framework. The findings of this research highlight the ability of street soccer (sport) to facilitate health as both a means and an end.

8.2.6 A Means and an End in a Health Sense

Health related capabilities emerged as both an incentive to become involved, as well as a benefit of being involved in street soccer. As one player (SSS7, 16/4/2014) highlighted:

“...obviously with drugs and alcohol my fitness levels came down and so I would avoid playing sport because of my fitness. I just thought that the actual part of me getting older and I just wasn't capable of playing anymore so taking drugs and alcohol was easier choice...Everyone's the same here, you know. There's no one looking or laughing at you for being rubbish cos they're in the same boat as me so I felt fine about playing here (SSS) and then my fitness started getting better and better all the time and as I said, I don't have that lifestyle anymore now. So that all helped.”

The street soccer participants highlighted health benefits extended to physical and psychological aspects of health which are intrinsically achieved through participating and are also the *raison d'être* for many to participate. This idea of health as a means and an end through street soccer is important. Health is a fundamental constituent of a valuable life and a universal ideal to which many of the UN's MDG's and SDG's respond to. Thus the evidence in this thesis strongly supports the case for personal

and societal development through sport, either in the sport plus sense or the plus sport sense as beneficial to health in multifaceted ways. Furthermore, it supports sport as sport as able to contribute similarly and just as effectively.

In a follow up interview HWC co-founder Mel Young (19/12/2013) presented an interesting perception of these health attainments:

“You never say to somebody ‘you’ve got a drug problem and you should come off it’ because they just say ‘ok, yes, I should – but don’t’. The bit that works is when they say ‘ok, I’ve got a problem, I want to come off’. So if you’ve got a drug problem or alcohol problem and you want to play football, you can’t really play properly so you know, they start to look around, they want to play football and they want to come off. So they can deal with the physical withdrawal if you like. I mean there’s other elements in there which I’m pretty sure there such a thing as an addictive personality and so you almost swapping the addiction, so you’re making sure you can play football all the time if you want.”

Although somewhat negative, this understanding of street soccer as replacing a negative addiction with a sporting addiction is interesting. It makes sense in terms of the natural endorphin ‘high’ released during physical exertion and supports advocating sport as a means and an end to health.

In concluding this consideration of the ways in which street soccer acts as a means and an end, it is necessary to emphasise that although each has been considered separately, their existence is interconnected. Indeed in many respects the efficacy of each is enhanced in and through its connections to other areas, and this may particularly be the case in the vital health and education gains. Finally, the value of the roles of the HWC and SSS in relation to the development of capabilities as both the means and end was that they created connections on different levels: (i) to this

vulnerable group, (ii) to a network of service providers, such as health or housing, and (iii) beyond this into society at large.

8.3 Levels of Capability: A Capability Pathway

Through using sport as a vehicle to develop capabilities, this thesis has presented evidence of capabilities extending across and beyond the traditional ways in which the social role of sport has been understood. A significant factor which facilitated the formation of these inter-connections was the player pathway which emerged. Formed by the link between HWC and SSS, this may also be understood as a capabilities pathway. This was elucidated through the personal stories told by the participants in this research, in which their progressive development of capabilities seems to mirror and parallel their routes and progress along their pathway out of homelessness.

Evidence emerged that the capabilities exhibited by the players at the HWC were on a more advanced level than which may be expected from homeless participants and were certainly more sophisticated than those in evidence at SSS. Players talked of what may be considered ‘more developed capabilities’: setting personal goals, practicing gratefulness and harnessing their leadership potential. This enabled them to progress in life, such as the player coded CP4/M/GN/SSC, who had accommodation to move into on his return from the HWC. That spectators expressed surprise at the level of capability they saw in the HWC players validated this idea of their more developed capabilities. In other words, by the time players had reached the HWC, they were approaching the end of their pathway out of homelessness and poverty and from a capabilities perspective, they could be considered ‘more free’. This evidence also shows the HWC’s progress from the inaugural event where ‘real

homeless' participated (Young, 2005), to achieving a more structured approach to player and personal development.

Contrastingly, SSS players described what may be best understood as 'fundamental capabilities', such as confidence, self-esteem and making friends as those built through their involvement in the street soccer and football opportunities offered by SSS. Fundamental they may be, but they also seemed to enable the most significant step on the pathway and the beginning of their personal progress out of homelessness. As such it is dangerous to consider any one capability as more important than any other: they are not and indeed therein is the value of understanding these changes as the expansion of capabilities.

Part of this pathway narrative is the cycles of re-involvement created by the connection between local (SSS) and global (HWC), a connection in which players and former players are the agents of change through the multiple roles they fulfil, including role models, ambassadors and leaders. Evidence of this emerged through examples like David Duke, founder of SSS, and HWC player CP4/M/GN who by 2014 had progressed to become the coach in the SSS program, in doing so inspiring the next cohort of SSS players.

In their non-linear, nuanced and personal nature, these player / capability pathways enable individual aspirations and valuable lives to be achieved. They did so predominately through the incremental development of personal capabilities. However, there were other influential factors and part of their ability to do so is embedded in notions of agency and choice which this chapter now moves on to consider.

8.4 Agency and Choice

Agency is the ability to make life choices and Sen (1985) suggested that real development and a life of value is one of genuine choice and authentic self-direction. It is thus necessary to consider the extent to which participants in street soccer had, or felt like they had, choice.

In his consideration of choice, Sen echoes the philosophical thinking of Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) who similarly adopted an individualistic approach, central to which was freedom. Kant described a virtuous person as one with freedom (Guyer, 2000), and characterised freedom as the ability to make choices yourself. Choice helps inform the capability pathway at all levels and this is important since, as Sen (2002: 5) describes:

“...without some freedom of choice, the idea of rational choice would be quite vacuous, but also because the concept of rationality must accommodate the diversity of reasons that may sensibly motivate choice.”

This section considers the choices offered by the HWC and SSS and in keeping with the emerging themes, it is structured around: (i) educational choices, (ii) sporting choices, (iii) choices relating to broader support services, and (iv) enterprise choices. Of course choice exists within these organisations on the most basic level: that of participating or not and the purpose here is to move beyond such a simplistic understanding to consider those choices which exist as well as the ways in which the HWC and SSS create, support and develop them.

8.4.1 Educational Choices

Earlier, chapter 7 presented evidence of the educational opportunities offered by the HWC and SSS. Educational choices are particularly important within the capability

approach because of the need for ethical and informed thinking if development as freedom is to be achieved. This notion of connecting sport to education in SDP and for the purposes of human development is not new. Indeed education as integral to human development connects as far back to Plato's Academy where for Aristotle (350 BC), the highest good for human beings is not material wealth, honour or satisfying bodily pleasure, but something consistent with reaching potential implicit within which is contemplation and learning.

In this research there emerged a sense that such contemplation and learning were integral, with the educational choices the HWC and SSS created for the participants enabling them to develop more informed thinking. Through the interviews with players at the HWC 2011 and SSS in 2014 the development of different levels of capability led to understanding that it was the soccer itself which was the first step on this educational pathway. SSS players only progressed onto the Football Works program at a certain level or 'readiness', that is: they had already made the first steps forward which were identified as self confidence and self-esteem.

In this sense the step into education was not a conscious choice. It did not occur in a deliberate and systematic way, but almost as osmosis through playing football (soccer) and through the encouragement of the staff and others of their ability and contribution to the team as a player. This should be lauded since these findings also highlighted players identified familial and other close relationships highly among that which they valued in life. In doing so I suggest that, while the development of self-esteem and confidence in participants is appropriate and necessary, both the HWC and SSS could go further. By extending educational choices to those designed specifically to enhance family and social connections, perhaps considering subject

matter such as emotional intelligence, empathy and dealing with conflict, then education could be more impactful. Furthermore if educational choices could be extended beyond the players to offer them to their extended social network their effects may be further amplified.

8.4.2 Sporting Choice

Whilst it is necessary to provide the opportunity to participate in sport there must exist elements of choice within this. For example the choice of sporting activity, choice of gender grouping or choice of competitive structure all need consideration if the development of individual capabilities within a wider audience is to be achieved. Sport as a functioning is not essential to one's life, unless of course that functioning is at such a high level it leads to a professional sports environment. However, the capability to *participate* in sport is essential to one's quality of life and it is this which is important within the capability approach.

In the analysis of two street soccer organisations, it stands to reason that street soccer is the sporting choice presented in this thesis. Indeed, and given the position of soccer as the most popular global sport, its selection and the extent of its use is not surprising. Nonetheless, and as touched upon in earlier discussions, that is not to say its use should be unconditionally accepted and unilaterally implemented as *the* sport used in initiatives for the poor, homeless and other vulnerable groups.

While as a team sport it brings many social benefits and in its simplicity and popular appeal, its use makes perfect sense, this does not mean that soccer should be the only option available to the global homeless population. Culturally relevant sports may attract greater numbers of participants; for instance cricket in the Caribbean and India may be more successful than soccer. Not every homeless person may want to

play in a team orientated sport, indeed this also may actually be excluding participants and so development projects with real choice should consider both team and individual sporting options.

Building upon the earlier evidence which presented the lack of growth of the HWC women's tournament, it must be recognised that, although growing as a women's sport, soccer for many is not the sport of choice and indeed in some cultures, it is not possible for women to participate in soccer. As such it is suggested in this thesis that the HWC has a moral obligation to make the tournament more attractive for women and indeed other groups too. Perhaps local and global projects aimed at helping poor, homeless and vulnerable female populations need to consider sports which may be more appealing to women and I suggest options such as hockey, netball or dance may be explored.

The competitive nature of the HWC may be part of this lack of engagement, however the evidence suggested this was not a gender specific problem. But it was a problem, and although the evidence indicated that the HWC had taken action to mitigate this, the fact remains that it is a competitive tournament and thus choice is limited. SSS have in this regard embraced choice more fully, as evident in the range of programmes it offers, including competitive tournaments and the non-competitive drop in sessions which they offer.

The cumulative suggestion of this evidence is that the HWC is somewhat limited in its ability to improve the well-being (beings and doings) of the global poor and homeless population because it is restricted to groups who have access, ability and the interest in soccer. Offering one dominant sport is not philosophically reconcilable with a capability perspective and I suggest that the HWC is therefore in one sense

restrictive. As an alternative I suggest the need to grow and develop the palette of sports on offer and perhaps evolving the HWC further in into for example, a Homeless Olympics if the HWC Foundations aim of beating homelessness is to be achieved.

8.4.3 Broader Support Services

Notions of choice as essential to sport as development within a capability approach extend to the social services wrapped around the HWC and SSS. Earlier the primacy of health and educational objectives was emphasised and one way in which SSS in particular helps with the development of choice was through the creation of partnerships. This is important because vulnerable groups often become so excluded they slip through the welfare system. SSS goes some way to avoiding this by bringing housing, mental health, and educational support directly to their players. SSS is linked to the Scottish Association for Mental Health (SAM-H), Jobcentre Plus (jobs), Dunedin Canmore Group (housing), Big Issue (jobs), Queen Margaret University (education, support, monitoring). Providing these connections across different areas is important to ameliorating the effects of homelessness. Furthermore, these connections and partnerships provide an element of choice which is essential within a capability approach. In doing so they eliminate barriers and exclusion as well as directly tackling one of the problems which prevent lasting solutions and which was highlighted by one former player (FP4/M/GN, 28/8/2011):

“... see all the services that are dealing with homelessness, they should all pull together to identify all the various issues and work in partnership, you know what I mean. But the reality is, these guys are all chasing the same kind of funding, they’re all suspicious of one another and then they end up working against each other. Basically, the guys are accessing services that are not joined together.”

This evidence demonstrates the benefit of leadership grounded in experiential knowledge from within the system. While government led social initiatives and funding restrictions create a neo-liberal environment within the social welfare system, social enterprises like the HWC and SSS use their first hand knowledge to implement effective systems of support within their organisations and in doing so go a considerable way towards overcoming these limitations in appropriate choice and availability of support services. More can still be done and I suggest there is a need to consider links to other addiction and health related groups as well as providing choices of staff and other choices which account for gender, personality, religious and cultural nuances in order to provide the level of choice necessary to support life changes across this vulnerable group.

8.4.4 Enterprise Choices

Players interviewed as part of this research noted the ways in their involvement in sport had assisted their potential in the work environment. As one player (SSS1,10/3/2014) highlighted:

“...even 2 year ago (before getting involved with SSS), I never felt ready to work within myself. Today, I’m actively seeking employment, I’m doing everything I can and it gives you that choice, its gives you a lot of choices in your life with the courses and maybe even jobs.”

Although work and enterprise choices where without doubt implicit within what was offered by these organisations, they were of somewhat limited scope as they focused mainly on the continued replication of the social enterprise, not for profit model of the HWC and SSS. Whilst this is both understandable and admirable, it can also be understood as limited. Enterprise was linked to the HWC through its local partners

and the evidence from this research highlighted that for many participants their vision of enterprise was not aligned to that of social enterprise. Rather, they wanted to support their family through earning money as professional soccer players or through profitable enterprise more aligned with the capitalist ideal than that of a not for profit social enterprise.

This is particularly interesting given Sen's proposal that development is driven by capitalism with good values and ethical transparency (1999). Social enterprise may well be an ethical capitalism of sorts but in its not for profit orientation, it lacks some of the essential elements which may be able to motivate more poor and homeless people to consider this option and pathway as one which leads to a life they value.

If as this thesis suggests, sport becomes more widely understood within a capabilities paradigm, then it is essential to consider notions of choice. Whilst Sen's (1999) freedom is not defined or meant as an unlimited freedom based on having unlimited or unethical choices, it does require choice to be available. Furthermore, those which are available need to account for personal values (Sen, 1999). This infers the need for organisations like the HWC and SSS to consider culturally appropriate sporting, educational and ethical components which fit local environments whilst meeting the global objective of overcoming poverty, homelessness and achieving positive personal changes.

8.5 Redefining Sport as the Expansion of Capabilities

The contribution this thesis makes is to begin to redefine sport in terms of capability. It proposes that doing so enables the role of sport in society to move beyond the limiting boundaries of the traditional inclusion-exclusion debate to understand it as human development. In turn this enables appreciation of its role and value in relation

to the expansion of freedom and the development of capabilities. Given the limitations of traditional sport in society discourse, coupled with the contemporary growth of SDP, the need to consider sport as the development of capabilities is both timely and necessary.

Sport as capabilities considers the roles and dimensions sport presents through a kaleidoscope which elucidates its dynamic and interdisciplinary breadth, versatility and benefits. Furthermore, in the evaluative framework of the capability approach, there exists the potential to respond to the concerns of researchers such as Coalter (2007) for whom the difficulty in attributing particular social changes specifically to sport remains problematic.

The evidence presented in this thesis has clearly highlighted that the most critical capabilities which helped participants make the all important first step forward in their life are confidence and self esteem and that these are developed through sport. Only after sport had helped them achieve these were they able to access the educational opportunities offered through SSS and this clarity of delineation signifies the value of understanding sport through a capabilities perspective and suggests the need for a paradigm shift in how sport is understood.

Doing so echoes notions of quality physical education and whilst not the purpose of this thesis to provide such a philosophical discussion, it is perhaps worthy of note as it suggests that this relatively new discipline of SDP may be able to draw and learn from the established field of physical education. Noting this also eloquently highlights the interdisciplinary nature of and applicability to Sen's CA.

Sport as capabilities has many levels of entry and exit as well as multiple applications. Through utilising the advantages enabled by the individualistic nature

of the capability approach, sport as capabilities considers each unique voice as well as the full spectrum of activities, recreations and participation which are united under the sport umbrella.

Returning to the earlier criticisms which have been levelled at Sen's approach with regards to this individualistic nature, we can begin to understand that it is precisely Sen's elucidation, rather than Nussbaum's more complete framework of capabilities within her human development approach which make the capability approach so useful to understanding sport as the expansion of capabilities. The individualistic and incomplete nature are in fact significant strengths as therein lies the ability to illuminate the roles sport can play in the amelioration of significant social problems such as poverty and homelessness.

In the capability approaches concern with the individual it enables each and every member of the vulnerable and disadvantaged to be considered, accounted for and credited for personal progression through the development of capabilities specific to their needs. Its individualistic nature offers the choice for enterprises beyond simply social and in its incompleteness, the approach offers the scope for each type or mode of sport to define and re-define capabilities as appropriate.

This evidence supports the claims made by the HWC and SSS that through participation in street soccer, individuals can change their lives. These changes and impacts have been elucidated in this thesis as the development of capabilities towards a life the individual has reason to value, which for Sen (1999) is the essence of a good life and at the heart of the capability approach. Evidence highlighted that individuals developed different capabilities at different times and the nature of these capabilities spanned a diverse range within psychological, physiological and

sociological domain. Critically, most crucial of all are the fundamental capabilities such as self-esteem and confidence which were developed through the initial sporting contact.

In the players identification of becoming involved in sport again, this study concurs with that of Schischka, Dalziel and Saunders (2008) who found human development programs helped expand capabilities as a result not only of learning new skills but by discovering capabilities they already had could be valuable in creating new opportunities for themselves.

Part of the overwhelming feeling within this thesis is the belief that sport as capabilities is essentially about understanding sport *as sport* in order to begin to recognise the meanings of the interactions with those engaging in it as well as the ways in which those engaging in it interact with one another and the environment. Sport as the development of capabilities is interdisciplinary in nature; it is intrinsically connected to health, education, and support services and in doing so creates complimentary pathways for participants.

The capability approach provides a useful framework to comprehend these interactions and relationships and in its flexibility and openness provides the scope to begin to understand the different pathways the players follow towards the life they value. Indeed, it is this which stands at the crux of sport as the development of capabilities: ultimately it is about freedom to lead an authentic life which is self directed towards that which each individual finds valuable and fulfilling. Within and beyond all of this it is about recognising that capabilities are intrinsically developed in and through sport and in this thesis I have presented evidence that this happens not

only in relation to participants themselves but to a much broader audience and community too.

The value of sport and rationale for advocating it as not only suitable, but the preferred vehicle to achieve capabilities and freedom, is the multifaceted nature and global levels of engagement it provides. Its reach exceeds other globally accessible modes, while it has the ability to transcend boundaries far in excess of most other mediums. Furthermore, sport is versatile, adaptable and extends across areas as diverse as health, education, feminism, equality, economic to name but a few and earlier this chapter expounded its role as a means and end within these.

Re-defining sport as capabilities cannot be addressed without returning to the place of morals and ethics. In *Development as Freedom* Sen (1999) essentially still advocates capitalist approaches to develop capabilities (Evans, 2002), however the principles underpinning the approach are far removed from the capitalist dogma. Central to the capability approach is a moral fibre which intertwines its way throughout and in which I suggest lays a further rationale for the use of sport as development. Chapter 3 presented the case of sport as a social tool and implicit to understanding the social aspects of sport is a moral and ethical dimension which dictates the necessity for sport to be at the forefront of moral conduct. Indeed, even the freedom to achieve personal well-being is morally important to both the individuals participating and to society as a whole. When free from inequalities, racism, betting irregularities, match fixing, and cheating, then sport possesses the necessary parameters in which ethical behaviours may be built. International organisations such as FIFA and the IOC should therefore be the standard bearers of moral and ethical behaviours and sport as capabilities is a timely reminder about ethical sport. Sport is entertainment but not in the pre-determined, pre-boxed variety,

but in a living, dynamic sense and in this respect it is time for the custodians of sport to take responsibility and return it to its true and valued roots – back to the future –to the pure essence of the Olympic ideal to give sport the chance to shape not just individuals but broader global society in a positive way.

Such ethical considerations extend beyond the confines of the gymnasiums and playing fields and apply to sponsors and partners too. In the evidence provided by this study, SSS's partnerships with reputable housing, employment and educational establishments suggests a sound moral grounding in this respect too. For Sen (1985; 1999), resources and opportunities are vital in their ability to generate greater capabilities which empower both planned and unplanned changes and there is the unquestionable need to engage global corporations if the reach of both SSS and the HWC is to continue to grow.

Through understanding the capabilities developed in street soccer, this thesis has identified the key factors which enabled the homeless street soccer participants to convert the resources and opportunities provided by the HWC and SSS into a valuable life. This notion of conversion expresses the different potentials individuals have to utilise the capabilities they possess. It is another cornerstone of the capability approach. Indeed it is for this reason that the approach is individualised. These different types and levels of conversion were apparent in the personal stories told in the interviews. All participants developed the self-esteem and confidence during their early participation in street soccer but not all of them were able to use this to break the cycle of poverty and homelessness and progress in their life. Similarly, many HWC players were able to become re-involved but evidence of this was not absolute. Indeed, at the HWC in 2011 there was evidence that not all players could convert their capabilities, as player CP5/F/GN who was interviewed as the goalkeeper for her

team highlighted: she had originally been selected to play as an outfield player but had to become goalkeeper following the departure of the goalkeeper who had originally been selected for the tournament. Earlier discussions suggested this may have reflected the player's lack of capability. Yet, illuminated as agency and choice, it may also be understood as that player was not equally able to convert resources, and indeed considered within the robust and holistic selection process implemented by SSS, then this may be a more accurate assumption, but without further research it remains only that.

Part of how we have come to understand this conversion of resources and opportunities is linked to notions of sustainability which are implicit within both the capability approach and the narrative of the HWC and SSS as well as the SDP field in a more general sense. The evidence from this thesis highlights that involvement in street soccer led to sustainable development of capabilities in the participants and indeed in the broader audience of staff and supporters. Development here is not meant in a singular sense but rather it extends to different types, including but not limited to: personal development; community development; sport development; social development; economic development and structural development. These may be best understood within Sen's paradigm as the development of people, leading to development as freedom. That is to say: sustainable development expands human agency and freedom both as an end itself and as a mean to further expansion of freedom (Dreze and Sen, 2002: 6) and in the street soccer evidenced in this thesis sustainable development was realised.

In *Development as Freedom* Sen (1999) introduced a new way of considering human development: that of welfare expenditure and social growth as the catalyst to economic growth. Political freedoms, civil rights and the development of individual

capabilities are all necessary parts of this and in the evidence from the participants of this study, sport is development as freedom. Sport contributes to a welfare development through a sporting pathway which parallels and supports that of the pathways out of homelessness. In consideration of one local and one global organisation as the case studies for this thesis, we have been able to understand that together they provide a pathway from grassroots to the highest level. Indeed, it is in the interaction between them and the completeness of this pathway that the value of these street soccer organisations as development as freedom exist. Further, in this model, social growth is the catalyst for an enterprise focussed not on profit but in social and economic growth in a not for profit sense in which the financial benefits of the HWC are seen to benefit the grassroots expansion of this welfare.

8.6 Conclusion

In re-defining sport as the development of capabilities it is perhaps appropriate to conclude by summarising the findings of this research within the parameters defined by Sen (1999). Sen used the metaphor of a bike to illustrate the development of capabilities, whereby the bike provided the capability *to be able to* ride around, the functioning (or achievement) of *riding around* and the utility, or mental reaction, of happiness. If we consider the findings of this research, street soccer (football /sport) is the resource which provides the capability to be able to do many things on different levels and to different groups (SSS and HWC). These are illustrated in table 1: *Street Soccer as the Expansion of Capabilities*, which pulls together the findings to illustrate them in a more visual sense.

Resource		Capability	Functionings	Utility
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Sen’s example:				
A bike		To be able to ride around	Ride around	Happy
Evidence from HWC, Paris 2011				
Resource	Category	Capability	Functionings	Utility
HWC 2011	Current Players	To be more confident	Play soccer professionally	To provide and sustain themselves and family
		To express yourself freely	Having a network	
		To escape from life	Having a positive structure in life	
		To develop self-esteem	Working and earning money	To connect and re-connect with friends and family
		To set personal goals	Make new friends	
		To be grateful	Establishing social connections / Reconnect with family and friends.	Development of Empathy To be happy and content
		To have perspective	To have better health	
		To harness leadership potential	To Travel	
		To become healthier	To Coach in local projects	
	Evidence from the broader HWC audience			
	Former Players as Support Staff	To improve communication skills	Coaching at HWC	Feeling proud and good about self. Self-sufficient.
		Giving back	Managing at HWC	
		Being a Role Model	Support Staff at HWC	
		Using Leadership skills	Able to work and give back	
		To be able to travel	Travelling to different global cities	Broaden perspective
	Spectators	Raise Awareness of homeless potential	Change attitude towards homeless people	Surprised by ability of homeless players.
		Promote self-reflection		
	un te	Feeling good about giving back	Giving back	Happy

		Raising awareness of homelessness	Connecting – bridging and linking capital	Broaden perspective
		Re-defining perceptions		
Evidence from SSS				
Street Soccer Scotland 2014	Players	To be more confident	Build relationships, access educational and employment opportunities	Happy, content, satisfied about life, connection with people, home
		To improve communication skills		
		To develop leadership skills		
		To make friends		
		To become physically fitter		
		To manage stress and anxiety		
		To set personal goals		
		To develop self-esteem		
		To escape from life		
		To express yourself freely		
		To become healthier		

Table 1. Street Soccer as the Expansion of Capabilities

This research highlights that players developed (or perhaps re-developed) self-esteem and self-confidence through participation in street soccer and in doing so is reflective of the deeper social problems faced by the homelessness, which seem to reach beyond those of broader SDP projects and which suggest the need both for multidimensional solutions and further exploration. These finding differ slightly to those of Coalter and Taylor (2010) who found that many participants in SDP programmes had reasonably positive self-evaluations (self-efficacy and self-esteem) but just happened to live in disadvantaged communities.

The final point to be made is that Sen's less rigid approach to the notion of freedom can be seen as a strength and a weakness but its very incompleteness makes it powerful. Sen (1999) consistently reminds us that human beings are the real end of all activities and that development as freedom must be seen as centred on enhancing

such achievements, freedoms and capabilities. The lack of substantive freedom is not simply the lack of money or a home but restrictions on participation in social life and as such the capabilities developed through involvement in streetsoccer can be seen in this context. Simply put: the development of the capabilities evidenced in this chapter can be seen in the context of sport contributing to development as freedom.

This study has sought to explore the ways in which sport maybe understood as the expansion of capabilities. It is aimed at providing an analysis of sport, poverty and homelessness through an interdisciplinary lens. Data collected through observations, notes, interviews, analysis of documents including reports and archival records was processed using an analytical framework informed by the capability approach of Amartya Sen. This study does not claim to provide a comprehensive theoretical discussion nor a complete analysis of poverty and homelessness. At a much more basic level this work has been concerned with: (i) providing a theoretically guided analysis of sport, (ii) rising to Holmwood's (2013) suggestion that those interested in sociology, poverty and justice should work with Sen's account of human development, and (iii) contributing to a relative silence on questions of poverty and homelessness within the broad body of work on sport in society. Perhaps the relative strength and weakness of this work is that it has attempted to address the inter-related nature of all of these concerns.

More specifically the findings and conclusions reached in this study directly answer the key questions guiding this investigation. In the interest of clarity, these conclusions return to the three questions that were set out in the introduction to this thesis: (i) To what extent can sport contribute to the expansion of capabilities? (ii) To what extent can sport contribute to the alleviation of homelessness as but one aspect of poverty?, and (iii) Can sport contribute to what we know about poverty and an escape from it? The text has asked some of the most basic questions that might be asked about sport, poverty and homelessness and it has been facilitated by access to

street soccer communities, the homeless world cup and sport in areas of multiple deprivations.

9.1 Research Question 1: To what extent can sport contribute to the expansion of capabilities?

Sport was found to contribute to capabilities in a number of ways. In particular, sport provided a point of contact, a pathway, and an arena for social inclusion, all of which afforded the context and space in which other capabilities could be developed. This in and of itself is an important contribution which adds to what we know about the sports plus associated with researchers such as Coalter and other social scientists.

For many of the homeless participants in this study it was sport and only sport in which they participated and as such the capabilities developed at this point can be primarily attributed to sport. The evidence provided through the interviews participants highlighted there was no connection to education or link to support services during their very early contacts when playing at SSS. Yet even simply participation in sport improved their confidence and self-esteem. The education and other links made by the participants in this study to housing, job markets and health support services in all likelihood would not have developed without the capabilities such as confidence and self-esteem that were built through contact and involvement with sport.

Previous research has referred to the contribution sport makes as either a sport plus or plus sport. In this thesis it is asserted that we can understand the contribution of street soccer to the development of capabilities in both a sport plus and plus sport sense. More significantly, we saw that street soccer contributed to the development

of capabilities simply as sport for sport sense. By making the crucial first steps into SSS many of the most vulnerable homeless and disadvantaged people were able to play football, have a structured, reliable point of social contact and in doing so space was provided to develop capabilities, access support networks and in many cases progress was made.

Once players had made this step and through their work with the coaches and other players at SSS, it allowed them to access the educational and support network available. Although the first step (the first capabilities) was exclusively achieved through sport, the next steps were enabled through the connection between street soccer and other services (in other words, through SSS in a sport plus sense). At this stage different players reported different capabilities, highlighting the personalised nature of capabilities, in other words: Sen's reasoned individualist approach to human development which facilitated players as social actors developing capabilities that allowed them to move structurally.

Some of the substantive and specific capabilities reported in this study included the fact that although sport was only part of the journey for participants, it continued to contribute to the expansion of capabilities whereby SSS acted as the hub for participants to go to play sport and then link into Football Works or to the support services connected to the organisation. For some participants, the HWC came into their personal narrative at the point when they had reached a level of capabilities that allowed them to play for Scotland in the HWC. To do this involved not only developing football as well as personal and social capabilities, but also in many cases the strength to come through the process of rehabilitation from, for example, drug and alcohol abuse.

The HWC interviews tell many stories but collectively one of them is that players were able to develop another level of capabilities, including a perspective and level of empathy, gratefulness, co-operation and new levels of confidence. In its international network of local and global partners the HWC provided these players with the opportunities that are both critical to and consistent within the capabilities approach.

Many of these opportunities were linked to sport, where a cycle of involvement and re-involvement emerged. Through the interviews with the former players at the HWC, it was possible to understand that sport was central to their life and continued progress towards living the life they valued. Some of the evidence supported the thesis that sport continued to play a pivotal role in the development of these homeless players' capabilities that helped them to cope not just with sport but also society.

9.2 Research Question 2: What is homelessness and can sport contribute to coping with the problems of homelessness?

Homelessness has been considered and categorised in many different ways, all of which inadequately convey the problems each individual homeless person contends with on a daily basis. While the work of Sherry, King and O'May (2011) and others have added to what we know about social capital and changing attitudes towards the Homeless World Cup very few sport studies have either researched the relationship between sport and homelessness or specifically framed homelessness and sport in relation to a greater body of poverty research which specifically singles out homelessness as a key facet of poverty in absolute, relative and multidimensional terms.

Homelessness is different things to different people and different societies but it has been traditionally been classified as ‘structural’, ‘individual’ and ‘cultural’ and more recently as ‘sick talk’, ‘sin talk’ and ‘system talk’. Through the Millennium and Sustainable Development Goals and other structures we have come to understand it as a global phenomenon but one which is best understood within the context of either the Global North and or the Global South as each region has its own unique nuances. That being said, that homelessness is multidimensional in nature is widely agreed, however recent work by Somerville (2013) has emphasised the difficulties in our existing understanding of this and suggests even the idea of pathways into and out of homelessness are incomplete. This thesis supports the assertion that sport can be a pathway out of homelessness, and future research may wish to explore the second aspect of Somerville’s (2013) work.

Overwhelmingly there is the feeling that homelessness may be best understood within the framework of pathways and journeys which are unique and personal to each homeless person. This research supports homelessness as an individual concept in that each homeless person experiences their own unique perspective of their reality and their situation. That is not to say that societies are not in many ways responsible to/for homelessness, rather it is to emphasise the need to recognise this marginalised group as people; individual human beings. The research in this thesis has helped to highlight a diverse range of personal pathways and stories each of which was unique to the individual. Furthermore, the evidence supported dispelling the myth that homelessness was limited to just structural, or individual, or social or any other singular aspect or group of individuals. It is a global problem requiring global action across all aspects.

Thus this thesis supports the comment put forward by Holmwood (2013) that while Sen's emphasis on the human individual may not have a great enough emphasis on the social for some social scientists, some inter-disciplinary sensibility would allow for Sen's work on development, freedom and justice to venture into the academy; not least because of the interest that many sociologists and others have, for example, on the self, inequality and social justice which includes social justice for individuals.

Individual and diverse pathways repeatedly emerged during the interviews conducted at the HWC. Many of the players and former players interviewed from developing GS African and SE Asian nations were from slums and although some had secondary causes, such as addiction problems, they were primarily homeless because of where they were born. Meanwhile, the HWC players and former players from the GN, exhibited a common trend of being affected by broken relationships, or from addiction related problems and the later local interviews with 7 homeless participants in SSS validated these GN findings and in doing so concurred with findings of Somerville (2013). Although each player and former player had an individual pathway, there existed some commonalities across the homeless players involved in this study. Some had addiction and health related problems, others broken relationships and others had been to prison and become homeless as a result of that. However, the feeling permeating this thesis is not one of classifications, quantifications or limiting ways of understanding, rather it is an attempt to consider this most extreme social problem and the role of sport within it through a new prism. Many causes, solutions and states exist within the homeless lexicon and it is this multidimensionality that is of importance to the understanding of homelessness and sport presented in this thesis. The framework of the capabilities paradigm is particularly appropriate in coping with such a problem.

By way of a summary of the findings in relation to research question 2, sport, in the form of street soccer, has contributed to coping with the problems of homelessness in numerous ways including providing access to health, education, employment opportunities as well as a better social environment. This happened at different levels where sport impacted across areas, most significantly in social and educational domain. The homeless individuals made friends and social connections through their involvement in street soccer and spectators were found to undergo social change too thanks to their contact with the street soccer at the HWC. The platforms provided by SSS and HWC enabled social changes on a larger scale too, as through their campaigning for social change the voices of the homeless themselves became actively involved in the political debate at the highest level.

In education dual benefits were evident, with individuals building their confidence, self-esteem and general social skills through playing soccer where, for some, rehabilitation into a world of rules and social norms was reflected in and supported by the parameters of the rules of street soccer. On another level, SSS provided educational courses as well as links to further educational opportunities to help homeless participants develop another level of personal capabilities.

A similar pattern emerged in the areas of health and employment and in this the full extent and reach of the impact of street soccer became more apparent. By understanding and framing these issues as the development of capabilities, the thesis was able to bring universality in approach which crossed the different agents and levels involved in homelessness. Doing so enforces the multidimensional nature of homelessness and of sport, bringing clarity to the way in which we can understand the range and benefits of sport plus in relation to homelessness. Table 2, *Street*

Soccer and Homelessness, helps to pull together the conclusions and findings that have been discussed in relation to question 2 in a more visual sense.

Area	Problem Associated with Homelessness	Traditional Theoretical Classification	Way in which Street Soccer helped	HWC or SSS as Primary
Social Environment	Social exclusion	Structural: system talk and cultural	Increased levels of confidence and self-esteem which helped overcome exclusion on many levels from making friends to re-integrating into society	SSS and HWC
	It is a problem caused by society	Structural: system talk	Publically raising political and social interest. Engaging policy makers and political parties and	HWC and SSS
	Homeless people regarded poorly by society	Structural: system talk and cultural	HWC helped change opinions – broader society becoming aware of capabilities of homeless people.	HWC
	Isolation from family	Individual: Sin talk	Achievement at HWC made family proud and made participant proud	HWC and SSS
Health	Addiction as GN contributor	Individual: Sin talk	Replacing addiction to substances with addiction to sport (natural endorphins as the new drug)	SSS as primary, HWC as support
	Mental Health and personal vulnerabilities problems	Health related: Sick talk	Natural endorphins produced by exercise enhance mood and feelings of positivity. SS gave routine to the weeks and goal to focus on.	SSS as primary, HWC as support

	Belief it can only happen to certain people	Individual: sin talk	Dispelling myth that this social problem is limited to any one particular area of society.	HWC
Employment	Lack of jobs	Structural: system talk	Cycle of re-involvement: players progressed to become coaches, managers and support workers. Enterprise related activities provided opportunity for income.	HWC and SSS
	Lack of access to opportunities	Structural: system talk	Partnerships of HWC and SSS helped make connections and opportunities	SSS and partners
Education	Lack of Access	Structural: system talk	Development of confidence and basic life skills through soccer. Access to opportunities and connections to educational institutions.	SSS

Table 2: Street Soccer and Homelessness

Sport may not be the sole solution, but it can make a contribution to coping with the multidimensional problem that is homelessness which leads to the final research question highlighted in the introduction to this study.

9.3 Research Question 3: Can sport contribute to what we know about poverty and provide an escape from it?

This question is similar but slightly broader than question two. This study has sought to understand homelessness and poverty and the connection between the two. Homelessness as poverty has a multitude of different dimensions while both poverty and homelessness are linked with issues of inequality, deprivation, exclusion and

suffering within these different dimensions. In looking specifically at one aspect of poverty: homelessness, the substantive evidence has highlighted the multi-dimensional benefits that sport is able to bring to the problem of homelessness.

The notion of poverty is not new but it is often neglected and suppressed within the sport in society literature. The relationship between sport and poverty can be characterised in at least three ways: (i) sport can be an escape from poverty for some and this is often closely linked to social mobility but this is not simply a one-way process, (ii) the popularity of sport has meant that it can be used to as a mechanism for carrying messages about some of the world's areas of greatest need, and (iii) sport has been used as a means to an end in the sense that other resources or capabilities have been seen to be part of a broader package of welfare or humanitarian aid. The issue here is not development and freedom but development as freedom.

Street soccer facilitated through SSS and HWC has helped improve the ways in which the vulnerable participants experienced poverty. It helped individuals emotionally, physically and socially, enabling them to break cycles of addiction, set goals and have the real hope that these could be achieved. The evidence highlighted the ways sport helped create social capital in the form of networks and connections both within and between social groups. Through street soccer and the support services made accessible to the participants at SSS, this vulnerable population was able to progressively build and strengthen personal capabilities and this can be seen to be part of a more holistic approach towards building a life which they valued. The thesis has talked extensively about this aspect of SSS and the HWC's work and has come to understand and present the benefits that capabilities built through street

soccer can bring, in both the short and long term, in the struggle to ameliorate poverty and homelessness for those involved.

This is only part of the narrative. Achieving personal journeys out of poverty became apparent in the HWC case study and is an integral part of the evidence informed narrative that is this thesis. The creation of opportunities enabled and facilitated by SSS and the HWC may be best understood as multi-faceted in nature, although they predominately can be classified within at least two areas: (i) educational, and (ii) employment. Educational opportunities occurred through sport and through the partnerships and links with further and higher educational institutions, while employment opportunities occurred through enterprise associated with HWC. In particular, where nations from the developing GS used the forum provided by the tournament to make trade links as well as sell locally made craft.

This reflected the enduring philosophy of the Big Issue and the role of social enterprise both of which were integral to the genesis of the HWC. Employment opportunities were also extended to engage former HWC players who progressed to become coaches, managers and fulfil a variety of other roles in local SS network partners. One outstanding illustration of this was the player coded CP4/M/GN/SSC. When we first connected, at the HWC in 2011, he told his personal story in which the breakdown of his relationship with his wife, closely followed by losing his job, led to him being forced onto a homeless pathway which began with sleeping in temporary arrangements with friends and family to eventually entering the hostel system.

This resulted in feelings of depression, loneliness and isolation, most acutely felt through his inability to have the regular contact with his young son to whom he had

been primary care giver when in the family home. Through encountering street soccer he was presented with a life changing opportunity through which he was able to rebuild his confidence and self-belief and in doing so embarked on a pathway out of homelessness and escape from the desperate and lonely place he had been in.

Firstly through soccer it-self, then through the educational opportunities provided through his connection to the HWC and then SSS, he was able to develop his capabilities to an extent where he completed a cycle of re-involvement back into street soccer as an employee of Street Soccer (Scotland). These different opportunities at different stages of his pathway enabled him to escape poverty and homelessness to re-build his life:

“It’s brilliant now cos I get my wee man over at weekends and he can stay with me now, so he’s back in my life. He *is* my life. I work hard (coaching at SSS) so we can go out together and go and do things like go to a (football) match or I can go and buy him clothes or a toy and stuff.”

(CP4/M/GN/SSSC, 16/4/2014)

9.4 Sport, Capability and Development as Freedom

Drawing upon Sen (1985, 1999), the notions of agency, resource, opportunities and freedoms are all integrally linked in the two case studies. The evidence from these sport settings has challenged the idea that it is difficult to apply the capability approach in a practical sense. The evidence gathered from the first case study, the HWC, highlighted the particular roles that sport plays in terms of developing agency, resources, opportunities and freedoms in the capabilities sense of development.

This thesis argues for the recognition that sport has a critical role to play in the development of capabilities: by developing the potential of individuals, a nation can grow and develop. In doing so it reconciles the traditional social dichotomy of

agency versus structure. Just as Sen argues that welfare can and should occur *before* economic growth, this thesis argues that sport, as part of a more holistic approach to poverty can come *with and before* economic growth as it has the potential to enhance and drive not only economic but social and personal growth too. The development of such capabilities through sport has helped to ameliorate poverty and homelessness for some. To repeat: the issue here is not development and freedom but development as freedom.

If we return to Sen's example of a bike, it brings the capability to be able to ride around, the functioning of mobility to enable one the freedom to achieve social, work and pleasure outcomes, and the utility to be happy. Thus, whilst the CA is and has been criticised for its individualistic nature, it enables multidimensional factors to be accounted for. This thesis has made it clear that by recognising the faces and names and individual needs of each and every streetsoccer player then streetsoccer as a whole can act or contribute to winning broader freedoms for those involved. Sen's example of the bike accounts for the quality in the opportunity available. In CA terms, this depends on a number of factors including the condition of the bike, the type of bike, the type of terrain, the condition of the person riding it, other users on the road/track, whether social norms permit one riding the bike (for example the case of a woman or perhaps a community leader). In this sense then Sen's capability is used together and in the context of opportunity in order to discern whether the freedom to live a life that one values is possible.

Capabilities as freedoms refer to the presence of alternatives or opportunities that both exist and are attainable. It has been suggested in this study that sport provides such opportunities and through the opportunity of sport and the potential of both

sport as capability and the individual themselves, players were able to achieve that which they valued in life. .

9.5 Implications of this Study

To my knowledge, this is the first study of sport, poverty and homelessness as seen from the perspective of the capabilities approach. Establishing precise definitions of, and approaches to, poverty can be extremely difficult. As such, more holistic approaches to the development of human capabilities in order to ameliorate poverty are required and the CA provides but one such approach.

Sen (2004a: 78) has defended the fact that he does not give a definitive list of capabilities in part because “pure theory cannot “freeze” a list of capabilities for all societies for all time, irrespective of what the citizens come to understand and value”. As indicated earlier, Sen’s (1999) less rigid perspective of freedom has proved most conducive; its very ‘incompleteness’ makes it powerful. Sen contrasts with Nussbaum in that he gives a fundamental emphasis to the role of ‘agency’ – which involves a concern with people realising their values or objectives through their own efforts, but not at the exclusion of structure, where notions of resources, choices, opportunities and Sen’s ‘means and ends’ all speak to the idea of external forces impacting upon and interacting with an individual’s agency. This thesis has followed Sen’s interpretation to focus on capabilities, but it is hoped that future studies will engage further with this literature by considering the challenges to it. It attempts to respond to both Holmwood’s (2013) challenge and sociology’s late acknowledgement of the work of Sen, which was emphasised once again in King et al’s (2015) recent annual review of the area. In doing so, it may help shape further thought into sport policy and practice where the language of capabilities may bridge

the gap between sport and the other disciplines essential to sustainable social change, in particular those of health and education.

Without wanting to overstate the originality of this thesis, the contribution it makes is to offer an original way to think about sport as a social tool, one which has the potential to move beyond some of the limitations with the traditional ways in which sport and its broader societal role has been considered.

To advocate that by using the language of capabilities we will be much better equipped to discuss and understand the place and role of sport within society and in particular different potential ways of thinking about sport plus or sport as a tool of development or sport and poverty or sports development or sport as development and freedom. It has hopefully illustrated that Sen can help those interested in the study of sport in society and open up new ways of approaching sport. Sen's alternative framework for social evaluation is a promising way to interpret cases in which the homeless and other vulnerable groups may be viewed as having limited agency while emphasising in a positive sense the opportunities and social choices that may exist in the most severe circumstances. Such an approach could provide a means through which understanding their participation in sport and society can be further enhanced and understood

Above all else, the implication of the findings of this study that sport as sport helps individuals develop confidence and self-esteem could be far reaching. Further substantiated, this suggests the need within sport and social policy and practice to be more widely recognised and utilised to tackle some of society's most exigent problems. It implies that sport, simply sport in a well delivered quality PE sense, should be recognised within social policy related to areas such as SDP, health,

education and housing, and that school and community based sport alone can make critical first steps towards meeting social targets.

Beyond this, perhaps the most important implication of this thesis is to note the potential of Sen's approach in the *process* of policy making and the impact it may have as an interdisciplinary tool within the language of social policy.

9.6 Future Research Directions

In developing the analyses contained within this thesis, it is possible to identify ways in which this study could help to inform and facilitate future research. The underpinning approach has already been commented upon and there exists potential in the CA for analysing sport for/in/and development, sport and social justice, sport, identity and violence, and sport and community to name but a few areas of work that might draw further upon the work of Amartya Sen.

This study was limited to one sport: street soccer, and there is a need for future studies to examine other sports, including culturally relevant ones, as well as individual sports and different categorisations of sport. While this study built on the work of Jarvie and Sikes (2013) to look at broader community benefits, the extent to which it was able to do so was limited. Yet this notion of cumulative capabilities and benefits to a community beyond solely the person engaged in sport is one which requires more attention in future research. So too there is a need to expand our consideration beyond the homeless to other excluded groups, and it is perhaps timely for refugees in particular to be the focal point of future research using the CA.

Apart from the work of Jarvie and Sikes (2013), there has not been much done with high performance athletes from the developing regions and so further research which

considers capabilities and human development within this group would also add a valuable contribution to this body of knowledge.

Finally, although this thesis considers some longitudinal evidence, it is somewhat limited. Yet notions of sustainability are at the forefront of SDP and have renewed emphasised as a result of the UN's 2015 Sustainable Development Goals. Thus, longer term changes and in particular the role and permanency of the capabilities developed through sport need consideration in future research.

9.7 Conclusion

This thesis does not claim to represent the definitive statement or solution on sport, poverty and homelessness. Indeed the issue of poverty and homelessness is unfortunately unlikely to be removed in the immediate future. The development of streetsoccer; the advent of the annual Homeless World Cup; shifts in sport for development initiatives within international and humanitarian aid efforts; the outcome of any one of a number of general elections or international co-operation packages, all provide a solid basis for carrying out future research that impacts upon and involves sport, poverty and homelessness. Governments invariably change and policies change, but the needs of some of the most vulnerable groups of people in the world often remain the same.

This work has succeeded in linking empirical data with capability thinking and theory in an insightful and informed manner. The original synthesis of theory and evidence presented here will help sensitise future researchers to the complexities of the interaction between sport and one enduring social problem. Sport alone cannot resolve the persistent problem of either poverty or homelessness, but as this research has shown, it can make a significant contribution to its amelioration. Sport has the

ability to be a resource of hope for many of the world's poor and, as has been evidenced in this thesis, can positively influence homelessness in multidimensional ways.

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Appendices

Appendix One

Guiding Questions for Homeless World Cup Research

Questions for 2011 HWC Players	
Guiding Theme	Question
Poverty	Can you tell me a little bit about your life and your story of how you come to be here at the HWC?
	What do you most like to do?
	How would you describe the status of your health?
	When you have time in the day for things you like – what do you choose to do?
	Do you have access to adequate health services and support?
	Do you have access to educational opportunities?
	Do you have access to work opportunities?
	How has your involvement in HWC changed your life?
	What attracted you to street soccer?
	Is soccer your favourite sport or if there was a HWC for another sport – which sport would you choose?
	How do you feel when you win a game? How do you feel when you lose a game?
Homelessness	What is your living arrangement for when you return home after this tournament?
	Do you feel safe and secure when you go to sleep at night?
	Do you have contact with your family or close group of friends to support you?
Freedoms	What things can you do since you got involved with the HWC that you couldn't do before?
	Do you feel able to do the things you want to do in life?
	What type of things make you happy in life?
	What things do you do that make you most happy in life?
	Are you able to do these things?
	How do you feel about the future – are you positive about things?

Questions for former HWC players	
Guiding Theme	Question
Poverty	Can you tell me a little bit about your life and your story?
	How did you come to take place in the HWC?
	Can you tell me a bit about what happened once you returned from the HWC?
	Were you able to get access to work or education?
	What sort of things did you not have access to before your HWC involvement that you have access to now?
Homelessness	What is your living situation now?
	You were homeless when you took part in the HWC, so can you tell me a bit about how you managed to secure permanent accommodation?
	What part, if any, did your involvement in the HWC help you escape homelessness?
	Do you feel safe and secure in your accommodation now?
Increased Freedoms	How has the way you feel about yourself changed now from when you were homeless?
	What things do you like to have or do in life?
	Do you have these in your life now?

Questions for HWC staff	
Guiding Theme	Question
Poverty	Can you describe the change you see in your players (players involved at HWC) from when they first get involved in street soccer to them playing in the HWC tournament?
	Can you describe the abilities and capabilities you see the homeless players develop as part of their HWC involvement?
	What would you say it is that fosters these changes?
	In what way does the HWC intentionally and systematically contribute to these changes?
Development	How does the HWC help in development? What does it develop?
	Does it contribute directly to achieving the MDG's?
	In what ways does the HWC help with human development and the development of human potential?
Sustainability	How do you monitor and evaluate the success of the HWC?
	Can you explain how the HWC develops a sustainably future for these homeless people?

	What are the key steps to creating this sustainability?
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Questions for HWC spectators	
Guiding Theme	Question
Poverty /	Why are you here watching the HWC?
Homelessness	What are your impressions of this tournament?
	What are your impressions of the players?
	How aware of homelessness were you before coming to watch the HWC?
	Do you think homelessness is a big issue in your local society? Globally?
	What do you think of homeless people when you see them on the street?
	Do you think differently of them seeing them here playing soccer?
	Has attending the event changed the way you see homeless people?
	How do you think this tournament helps these people?
	Will coming to this tournament change the way you treat a homeless person next time you pass one on the street?

Appendix Two

Guiding Questions for Street Soccer (Scotland) Research

Questions for 2014 Street Soccer Scotland Players	
Guiding Theme	Question
Poverty	Can you tell me a little bit about your life and your story of how you come to be involved in SSS?
	What attracted you to street soccer?
	What do you most like to do?
	Which sport do you most like to do?
	Which other sport would you do if there was the opportunity?
	How do you feel when you come here and play street soccer and lose?
	How do you feel when you come here and play street soccer and win?
	Do you think you'd like SS more if it was not competitive?
	How would you describe the status of your health?
	Has your health improved since you started the SS sessions?
	When you have time in the day for things you like – what do you choose to do?
	Do you have access to adequate health services and support?
	Do you have access to educational opportunities?
	Do you have access to work opportunities?
	How has your involvement in ss changed your life?
	How has it changed the way you feel?
Homelessness	What is your current living arrangements?
	Are you happy with where you live?
	Do you feel safe and secure when you go to sleep at night?
	Do you have contact with your family or close group of friends to support you?
Freedoms	What things can you do since you got involved with SSS that you couldn't do before?
	Do you feel able to do the things you want to do in life?
	What type of things make you happy in life?
	What things do you do that make you most happy in life?
	Are you able to do these things?
	How do you feel about the future – are you positive about things?

Appendix Three

Example of Enterprise Sold at Homeless World Cup 2011



This is a handmade card from Malawi. Players were selling this and other similar merchandise during the HWC in Paris, 2011.

Appendix Four

Interview Information Statement and Consent Form

“Understanding Sport as the Expansion of Capabilities: The Homeless World Cup and Street Soccer (Scotland)”.

I am undertaking research in part fulfilment of a postgraduate degree. I am interested the ways in which your involvement in street soccer helps you and would like to listen to your story to hear how you came to be involved in street soccer and the ways your life might have changed since you became involved.

Your participation in this research involves giving some of your time to chat to me. I will ask some questions about your life and your involvement in street soccer, but mainly I am interesting in listening to your thoughts in order to understand your personal story. The interview will be no longer than 1 hour and can be stopped at any time based on your needs.

If you agree to participate in this study I will seek your permission to audio-record the interview so that I can later transcribe it for the purposes of analysis. During the interview you may decline to answer any question, or request the recorder to be turned off, or withdraw without consequence. All information you provide will be confidential and your anonymity will be assured.

CONSENT

I agree to participate in the project entitled “Understanding Sport as the Expansion of Capabilities: The Homeless World Cup and Street Soccer (Scotland)”.

I understand the interview will be recorded but that the recording is assessable only to the researcher and will be destroyed at the end of the research.

I will only be identified by code in the study.

I understand that I can stop the interview at any time and do not have to give a reason for this.

I have had all my questions about the study answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby give my consent,

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix Five

2011 HWC Player Eligibility



THE TOURNAMENT

THE PLAYERS

The competition will take place from August 21 to August 28th, on the Champs de Mars, Paris. 64 National Teams will compete. Each team comes from a national project that promotes and supports social development through football. The players are selected through:

- The official Homeless World Cup criteria
- The local association own system of selection.

Participants (according to the Homeless World Cup):

- At least 16 years old.
- Must be homeless or have been homeless within the last year in accordance to the national definition of homelessness.
- Make their main living income as street paper vendor
- Asylum seekers currently without positive asylum status or who were previously asylum seekers but obtained residency status after 01.08.2010
- Currently in drug or alcohol rehabilitation and also have been homeless at some point in the past two years (post 01.08.2010)
- Have no taken part in previous Homeless World Cup tournaments

1. COMPETITION STRUCTURE

The Homeless World Cup annual tournament is a street soccer event which is fast and entertaining. Each match, officiated by a referee, lasts for 14 minutes, that's 7 minutes each way with a one minute break for half -time.

PRELIMINARY STAGE

The night before the tournament begins, a draw is held to determine the groupings for the first stage of competition. There are eight groups of six teams that play in the Preliminary stage. Each team play the other five teams in their group once.

SECONDARY STAGE

At the end of the Preliminary Stage teams are divided into two sections based on their results in the Preliminary round.

The top three teams from each group become section one and the remaining teams in each group become section two.

The teams are then grouped into eight groups of six teams, four groups within each section.

The teams play a further five matches, and it is organised so that they play teams that they did not face in the Preliminary round.

Appendix 6

List of Interviews

Pilot Interview

Interview 1: Frank Clement, Sports Development Manager, Glasgow City Council, 17/3/2006, Glasgow, Scotland.

Homeless World Cup (HWC) Staff

Interview 2: Deborah Ball, HWC International Partnership Manager, interviewed on 21/3/2012, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Interview 3: Mel Young, Co-Founder of Homeless World Cup, interviewed on 19/12/2013, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Homeless World Cup (HWC) Players

Interview 4: CP1/F/GS interviewed on 27/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 5: CP2/M/GN interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 6: CP3/F/GN interviewed on 28/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 7: CP4/M/GN interviewed on 28/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 8: CP5/F/GN interviewed on 27/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 9: CP6/M/GN interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 10: CP7/F/GS interviewed on 27/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 11: CP8/F/GS interviewed on 27/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 12: CP9/F/GN interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 13: CP10/M/GN interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 14: CP11/F/GS interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 15: CP12/F/GS interviewed on 28/8/2011, Paris, France.

Homeless World Cup (HWC) Former Players

Interview 16: FP1/M/GS Ghana Coach, interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 17: FP2/M/GS Kenyan Volunteer, interviewed on 27/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 18: FP3/M/GS Malawi Women's Coach, interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 19: FP4/M/GN Scottish Women's Assistant Coach, interviewed on 28/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 20: (FP5/M/GN) David Duke, Scottish Women's Coach, interviewed on 28/8/2011, Paris, France.

Support Staff, Partnership Projects and Broader Audience

Interview 21: Ally Dawson, Scottish Women's team manager, interviewed on 28/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 22: Vigil, Indian Women's team manager, interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 23: Patricio, Malawian street soccer partner project manager, interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 24: Abhijeet Barse, CEO Slum Soccer, Indian street soccer partner project manager, interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 25: Paraic Grogan, Chairperson, Happy Football Cambodia Australia. HWC street soccer partner project interviewed on 27/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 26: Volunteer 4 - Referee Paul Muchteroe, interviewed on 28/8/2011, Paris France.

Interview 27: Volunteer 5 - French Volunteer working as Interpreter for the Irish team, interviewed on, 27/8/2011, Paris, France.

Homeless World Cup (HWC) Group Interviews

Interview 28: Spectator 1, 2, 3, Interviewed on 28/8/2011, Paris, France.

Interview 29: Volunteer 1,2,3 French Volunteers working as part of organisation committee, interviewed on 26/8/2011, Paris, France.

Street Soccer (Scotland) (SSS)

Interview 30: SSS 1, interviewed on 10/3/2014, Glasgow, Scotland.

Interview 31: SSS 2, interviewed on 10/3/2014, Glasgow, Scotland.

Interview 32: SSS 3, interviewed on 10/3/2014, Glasgow, Scotland.

Interview 33: SSS 4, interviewed on 12/3/2014, Glasgow, Scotland.

Interview 34: SSS 5, interviewed on 12/3/2014, Glasgow, Scotland.

Interview 35: SSS 6, interviewed on 16/4/2014, Glasgow, Scotland.

Interview 36: SSS 7, interviewed on 16/4/2014, Glasgow, Scotland.

Interview 37: Former 2011 HWC player CP4/M/GN/SSSC, interviewed on 16/4/2014, Glasgow, Scotland.